

***Lenin on
Women's Role in
Society and the
Solution of the
Question of Women's
Emancipation in
Socialist Countries***

(Speeches delivered at the international symposium dedicated to the centenary of Lenin's birth, held in Moscow in 1970)

Soviet Women's Committee
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The Soviet Women's Committee is most grateful to all who took part in the symposium for their great contribution to its successful work.

The symposium proceedings are grouped under six different headings according to their themes. The papers and other communications presented here have been condensed.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

9

ALLA SHAPOSHNIKOVA (USSR). Lenin on the Role of Women in Society. The Solution of the Question of Women's Emancipation in the USSR

18

PART 1. THE ROLE PLAYED BY WOMEN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY AND LIBERATION MOVEMENT, IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, AND IN THE DEFENCE OF SOCIALIST MOTHERLAND

57

LE THI XUEN (DRV). Women of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—Champions of the National-Liberation Struggle and Builders of Socialism

59

LUU THI LIEN (South Vietnam). Women of South Vietnam in the Struggle Against the US Aggressors and for National Independence

74

O EN OK (KPDR). The Role of Korean Women in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle

79

CAROLINA AGUILAR (Cuba). The Role of Cuban Women in the Revolutionary and Liberation Movement

86

JANINA BALCEZAK (PPR). The Role of the Polish Women in the Revolutionary and Liberation Movement

96

MARIA ERELIYSKA (BPR). The Influence of Lenin's Teaching on the Development of the Women's Revolutionary Movement in Bulgaria

106

MARIA MARTINOVICH (USSR). The Part Played by the Women of Byelorussia in the Great Patriotic War

113

MIRA MIHEVIC (SFRY). The Part Played by Yugoslav Women in the Revolutionary and Liberation Movement

119

PART 2. THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE WOMEN OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

127

HELEN LAGADINOVA (BPR). Bulgarian Women—Active Participants in the Creation of a Socialist Society

129

INGE LÄNGE (GDR). How Lenin's Teaching on Real Equality for Women Is Being Implemented

137

<i>ZOYA YANKOVA</i> (USSR). The Role of Women in Society Under Socialism	144
<i>KIM SHIN SOOK</i> (KPDR). Lenin on Women's Role in Society and the Solution of the Question of Emancipation of Women in the Korean People's Democratic Republic	152
<i>LUCIA DEMETRIUS</i> (SRR). The Role of Women in the Building of a New Society in Socialist Romania	162
<i>LUPE VELIZ</i> (Cuba). The Women of Cuba Are Advancing Along Lenin's Road	169
<i>GUSTA FUČIKOVA</i> (CSR). The Role of Women in Socialist Czechoslovakia	189
<i>JULIA TURGONYI</i> (HPR). Some of the Problems in Hungary Concerning Women's Place in Society	189
<i>VALENTINA STARODUB</i> (USSR). Scientific and Technological Progress and Some Questions Relating to the Employment of Women in the USSR	194
<i>RADOVAN ŽUKADINOVIĆ</i> (SFRY). The Yugoslav Woman's Part in Social Life	199
<i>ALEXANDRA BIRYUKOVA</i> (USSR). The Role of Soviet Trade Unions in Work Safety and Health Protection for Working Women	205
<i>EUGENIA JAGIELŁO-LYSIOWA</i> (PPR). The New Social Status of Village Women in People's Poland	212
<i>NINA ABELS</i> (USSR). The Role of Women in Estonian Agricultural Development	217
<i>BÜJINLHAM</i> (PRM). Women of People's Mongolia	220
<i>KHUJUMA SHUKUROVA</i> (USSR). The Emancipation of Women in Central Asia	225
PART 3. THE GROWING ROLE PLAYED BY THE WOMEN IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES DUE TO THE HIGHER LEVEL OF THEIR EDUCATION AND CULTURE	
<i>EKATERINA FURTSEVA</i> (USSR). Soviet Women Take Part in the Development of Socialist Culture	233
<i>OYUUN</i> (MPR). On the Road of Knowledge and Cultural Development	235
<i>TERESA SOBKEIEWICZ</i> (PPR). Women's Role in the Cultural Life of People's Poland	242
<i>SONYA BAKISH</i> (BPR). The Socialist Cultural Revolution and the Bulgarian Woman	249
<i>MARIA BRADEA</i> (SRR). The Part of Romanian Women in Developing Socialist Culture	254
<i>AKIMA SULTANOVA</i> (USSR). The Importance of	258

the Cultural Revolution in Fitting Women for Taking Part in Production and in Social and Political Activities in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic	262
PART 4. FAMILY PROBLEMS UNDER SOCIALISM	269
<i>ZSUZSA ORTUTAY</i> (HPR). Some of the Problems of the Modern Family	271
<i>HERTA KUHRIG</i> (GDR). The Formation of Socialist Family Relationships in the German Democratic Republic	279
<i>NATALIA POPA</i> (SRR). The Structure of the Modern Family	283
<i>MARIA DINKOVA</i> (BPR). Formation of a New Type of Family Under Socialism	287
<i>OLGA REWINSKA</i> (PPR). Aid Given by the State and Public Organizations to Promote Rational Housekeeping and Assist in the Bringing Up of Children	295
<i>HELENA LITUAJEVA</i> (CSR). The Working Woman and Home Life	302
<i>YEUDOKIA KARPOVA</i> (USSR). Further Improvement of the Community Services for Soviet Families	306
<i>POLINA KOVALENKO</i> (USSR). Infant-and-Maternity Welfare	312
PART 5. THE FORMS AND METHODS OF WORK AMONG WOMEN IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES	319
<i>ILSE THIELE</i> (GDR). The Forms and Methods of Work with Women in the German Democratic Republic	321
<i>MUDZIFA GAFAROUA</i> (USSR). On Overcoming Survivals from the Past in the Minds of Women of the Soviet East	331
<i>OLGA UAZKOVA</i> (CSR). Against Attempts to Revise the Marxist-Leninist Concept of the Question of Women's Rights in Czechoslovakia	336
<i>VALENTINA UAVILINA</i> (USSR). Women's Press—an Effective Ideological Weapon of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union	341
PART 6. THE INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LENINISM AND LENIN'S IDEAS ON THE SOCIAL EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN	351
<i>CECILE HUGEL</i> (WIDF). A World Detachment of Women's Democratic Movement	353

<i>SARLA SHARMA</i> (India). Lenin Belongs to the Peoples of the World	356
<i>NGUYEN THI HANG</i> (South Vietnam). Message of Greetings to the Symposium from the Delegation of the Women's League for the Liberation of South Vietnam	359
<i>FATOU BANGOURA KASSORI</i> (All-African Women's Conference). Achievements of African Women in the Movement for National Independence and Equality	363
<i>BAHIA CARAM</i> (Women's Bureau of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization). Arab Women in the Struggle Against Israeli Aggression	368
<i>RUTH MOMPATI</i> (South Africa). Lenin Is With Us: Address to the Symposium	371
<i>KARL LIEBIG</i> (WFTU). The World Federation of Trade Unions and the Defence of the Interests of Working Women	372

INTRODUCTION

The year 1970 was marked by the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist community and progressive people throughout the world as the year dedicated to the memory of Lenin.

The grand scale of the celebration of Lenin's centennial was not only a mark of deep respect for the greatest man of the twentieth century. It was also a demonstration of the vital need for a scientific understanding of present-day social reality.

A whole revolutionary epoch in the history of man is connected with Lenin's name and his activities. He was a brilliant thinker and revolutionary, and the founder of the first socialist state.

Socialism, transformed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels from a Utopian dream into a science and enriched by Lenin with new ideas and conclusions, has been converted into a social actuality.

Millions of people today use the teachings of Lenin as their guide in the struggle for the revolutionary re-education of the world, for improving the conditions of the working people, in the socialism and communism.

In his work for the social emancipation of women, Lenin developed his views on the education of women and applied these in his many-sided practical activities.

Lenin was a passionate fighter for women's equality, genuine equality, both in the family and in society.

Women throughout the world, who are struggling for their rights, find in Lenin's theoretical

works the solution to the problems that confront them today.

In the jubilee year women's organizations in different countries conducted an extensive campaign to get women to study Lenin's works. They compared notes on the progress of their fight for emancipation, and on how the question of women's rights was being solved in their countries.

An international conference on the theme "Lenin on women's role in society and the solution of the question of women's emancipation in the socialist countries" was organized by the Soviet Women's Committee in Moscow. The conference attracted world attention. Taking part were representatives from the socialist countries--the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Soviet Union, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia--representatives of women living in the Republic of South Vietnam, and also representatives of international and regional organizations--the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, and the All-African Women's Conference. Women prominent in public affairs, government officials, leaders of women's organizations, editors of women's magazines, women working in industry and agriculture, science and culture, were among the participants in the conference.

More than 50 speakers took part in the discussions.

A Soviet representative delivered a report entitled "Lenin on the role of women in society. The solution of the question of women's emancipation in the USSR."

The speeches by the women from the different countries were a clear demonstration of the international character of Leninism. Many speakers stressed the tremendous importance of Lenin's ideas and his practical revolutionary activities, and the importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution for people throughout the world.

The reports at the conference provided for a deeper understanding of Lenin's theories concerning the social emancipation of women. The participants referred to Lenin's teachings and proved the correctness of his ideas based on the experience of their own countries.

They noted Lenin's perspicacity in the way he identified and solved the problems connected with the political and international aspects of the education and training of women workers, with their participation in revolutionary movements and in the building of socialism, with women's involvement in industry and government, and with the attainment of women's emancipation in the home.

Many speakers underlined the Leninist thesis that the struggle for women's emancipation was an inseparable part of the general struggle to free workers from exploitation, overthrow capitalism and build socialism. It was stressed in the speeches that the successful solution of the general question of women's place in society, in

the socialist countries, was directly dependent upon the political and economic measures taken by these countries in their development.

In Lenin's words, "This struggle will be a long one, and it demands a radical reconstruction both of social technique and of morals. But it will end in the complete triumph of communism."

The fact that women in socialist society have almost unlimited opportunities was emphasized at the conference. Examples were cited of the important posts occupied by women in the socialist countries, and of the active role of women in economic, cultural, political and public life.

During the discussions, a great deal of attention was given to the question of the participation of women in public affairs and industry. All speakers were unanimous that work was the most important factor in realizing women's emancipation. It was stressed that socialism gives every woman wide opportunities for making use of her right to work and for gaining experience and qualifications equipping her to occupy responsible public and government posts. The opinion was expressed that the technological revolution has led, in the socialist countries, to a more rapid solving of many social and industrial problems, including those connected with women's participation in industry.

The view that women should participate in industry, not only for economic reasons, but also in order to facilitate their harmonious development, was noticeable in all the speeches. During the discussions much attention was paid to the question of creating favourable conditions enabl-

ing women to work while at the same time meeting their responsibilities as mothers and housewives.

It was shown at the conference that a tremendous amount of work had been done in the socialist countries towards emancipating women. The participants described the experience of their respective countries in solving this problem and searching for the best conditions so that women could engage in public activities and work, and still fulfil their obligations to their families.

The participants were unanimous in noting that while great progress had been made in this direction, much work still had to be done to eliminate the inequality of women in the family. New problems were arising all the time, which demanded deep study and creative solution.

Lenin's ideas about the role of women in the revolutionary and national liberation movements and in the defence of the socialist motherland, received special attention at the conference. The participants traced the history of revolutions, the history of the struggle of peoples for their freedom and independence, their struggle against fascism and imperialistic aggression. The speakers paid high tribute to the countless heroines who had sacrificed their lives for a bright future for mankind.

The conference noted the progress made by women in the socialist countries together with their people, under the guidance of the Communist and Workers' Parties, and noted the role being played by women today in the revolutionary struggle, in the national liberation move-

ments, in socialist construction, and in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, all of which proved the truth of Lenin's statement that the revolutionary transformation of the world could not take place without the participation of women.

It was stressed at the conference that the question of women's place in society was an aspect of the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism. The necessity of strengthening political and educational work among women in order to raise the level of their social and political activity was noted.

The problems of peace and national independence were considered. The conference participants declared that they would step up their struggle to end the American aggression in Vietnam and would give all possible assistance to the Vietnamese people.

The participants expressed their solidarity with the Arab peoples in their struggle against the US-backed Israeli militarists.

There were also references in the speeches to the question of European security.

The international conference reaffirmed once again the vitality and power of Lenin's ideas.

Representatives of international and regional organizations, and developing countries, referring to the revolutionizing impetus given by the example of women in the socialist countries, stressed that the way in which the problems relating to women's emancipation were being solved in the USSR and other socialist countries was a great contribution to women's emancipation throughout the world and should be shared

by the whole international democratic women's movement.

This means that the women of the socialist countries must be still more responsible, be true to Lenin's principles of proletarian internationalism, widely publicize the experience of the socialist countries in achieving equality for women, and play a bigger part through their women's organizations in the socialist countries in the women's international movement.

More than 50 years ago Lenin wrote that the victory of socialism in a number of countries would make it possible for these countries to exert a great influence on politics throughout the world. Time has proved Lenin to be right. The socialist community today is the reliable mainstay of the people's struggle for peace, freedom and independence, and is accelerating historical progress.

Today, with the reactionary and progressive forces—capitalism and socialism—opposed to each other, it is necessary to develop friendship and co-operation between the socialist countries in every possible way so as to strengthen their unity in the struggle for the victory of the communist principles.

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was an outstanding event in the life of the Soviet people and the peoples of the socialist countries, and for all progressive mankind.

The Congress reviewed the many-sided activities of the Party and Soviet Government in home and foreign policy and the creative work of the Soviet people in all spheres of communist con-

struction, and set new targets for the next five-year plan.

The peace programme adopted by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union won support throughout the world as a realistic programme for achieving relaxation of international tension, as a programme for guaranteeing peace and security in the world.

Today we may say that this historic programme is being successfully implemented.

The congresses of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, and the Polish People's Republic held in 1970-1971 had great significance. New plans were adopted for the development of the national economies of these countries, providing for a further rise in living standards and the cultural level of the workers, including women. The triumph of Marxism-Leninism, of the principles of socialism and communism, and the strengthening of the socialist community were evident at these congresses.

The complex programme adopted by the 24th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance will play an important role in the life of the peoples of the socialist countries. The programme is designed to extend and expand co-operation between the member-states, and to develop socialist economic integration according to the specific conditions of the present-day epoch of construction of socialism and communism.

Much has already been done by the socialist countries in implementing this programme.

All of this opens up big prospects for women in the socialist countries to play an even greater part in everyday affairs and in work, creates favourable conditions for them to combine motherhood with creative participation in production and public life, and in cultural and scientific activities.

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Lenin on the Role of Women in Society. The Solution of the Question of Women's Emancipation in the USSR

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the outstanding theoretician and leader of the socialist revolution, was the founder of a proletarian party of a new type and the architect of the world's first socialist state of workers and peasants.

There is not a corner of the globe where Lenin is not known. His name is associated with the crucial revolutionary upheavals of the 20th century. Lenin's ideas have profoundly influenced the entire course of world development. For centuries millions of people will treasure his name as the symbol of the new era dawning for mankind.

Lenin's legacy in the sphere of ideology and theory is virtually inexhaustible. The entire present-day revolutionary movement, its theory and its practice, rests upon Lenin's genius. His works explain the complicated processes of the past and present, and help to scientifically forecast the communist future.

Besides being preoccupied with the many problems of the revolutionary transformation of the world, Lenin concentrated on the question of the emancipation of women and how they could be drawn into the revolutionary movement and the building of socialism.

Lenin's contribution to the great advances that have been made in this field in the present century is invaluable.

For centuries women were the most down-trodden and oppressed of all the oppressed and exploited. And at all times the ideologists of the propertied classes sought to legalize and justify the inferior position of women in society and in the family.

In their attitude to women, the ideologists of capitalism became the successors to the slave owners and feudal lords of the past. They maintained that "scientifically" women were inferior and incapable of independent creative thought. They asserted that the inferior position of woman in society was due to her biological make-up, to her child-bearing function, and to her natural disposition for house-keeping and the raising of children.

This reactionary attitude was opposed by the progressive thinkers of the past who championed women's interests and stressed the importance of their social emancipation. Among these

were the French Enlighteners fighting feudalism and, later, the proponents of Utopian socialism. Stressing the great role of Charles Fourier, Engels wrote: "He was the first to declare that in any given society the degree of woman's emancipation is the natural measure of the general emancipation."

The Russian revolutionary democrats such as Vissarion Belinsky, Alexander Herzen and Nikolai Chernyshevsky were also champions of women's rights. They called for drastic reform in the education and training of women, for making all spheres of social activity accessible to them, and for granting them civil rights as the equals of men.

That was a daring approach to the question and, at the time, a revolutionary one. But the revolutionary democrats were unable to lay bare the social roots of women's inequality and indicate the ways in which they could be emancipated. Only Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of scientific communism, who formulated the objective laws governing the development of human society, were equal to the task. Having defeated ideologically all the reactionary "theories" about the causes of women's inequality in society and in the family, they demonstrated in their works that the enslavement of women had socio-economic causes, that it was based on the private ownership of the means of production. This led, on the one hand, to the woman's economic dependence on her father and, later, on her husband and, on the other, to her enslavement as member of a social class, i.e. a slave, serf or a wage-slave.

In their *Manifesto of the Communist Party*,

the first document of Marxism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels pointed out that only the institution of public ownership of property could free women from their position as mere instruments of production.

Lenin developed this thesis, and gave it specific form by applying it to the new historical epoch—the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

The question of women's emancipation as viewed by Marxist-Leninists is part of the overall social question the solution of which is inextricably bound up with the revolutionary transformation of society. The question of women's place in society is part of the whole proletarian revolution, of the conditions necessary for its victory and for the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship—part of the building of the new, communist, society.

Lenin first became interested in the question of women's emancipation in the late 19th century.

In a talk with Klara Zetkin, the noted German revolutionary, concerning the attitude of Communists to the question of women's rights, he once observed that, without Marxist theory, there could be no effective work and that Communists must take a strictly principled approach to the question.

In 1899, while in exile, Lenin corresponded with the Party, discussing the subjects he wanted to write on for the underground publications. Among the themes he listed was "The Woman and the Workers' Cause". Then, together with Nadezhda Krupskaya, his wife and associate, he

drafted an outline for the brochure, *The Working Woman*, which was later written by Nadezhda Krupskaya and published abroad in 1901. This was the first book to expound the views of the Russian revolutionary social-democrats on the question of women's emancipation, treating it as an integral part of the proletarian cause.

In many of his works Lenin touched on various aspects of the problems connected with the emancipation of women. He wrote about the situation of women and children under capitalism, about the objectives the women's revolutionary movement set itself in Russia, about the role this movement was destined to play as part of the overall proletarian struggle, about women's participation in the revolution, the ways to achieve women's actual emancipation, women's role in the building of socialism, and about the international women's movement.

In a number of his works written in the late 19th century and the early 20th century Lenin showed the humiliating, degraded position of women in a society based on exploitation. In *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* and *Capitalism and Female Labour* he stressed that the life of women working in a capitalist factory was a life of back-breaking labour, often for 18 hours on end, meagre wages, destitution, oppression and prostitution.

Lenin exhaustively examined the plight of the peasant women who then constituted the majority of the working women of Russia. He cited the fact that women were forced to work for landlords as payment of rent for the land leased to peasants as an example of the rottenness

of the socio-political system of pre-revolutionary Russia.

Lenin also condemned the merciless exploitation of women working in cottage industries.

At the same time Lenin considered the work of women in the capitalist factories to be a progressive phenomenon for it took them outside the narrow confines of the family and kitchen, aroused their class consciousness and drew them into the struggle of the proletariat.

In this connection Lenin wrote: "It is indisputable that the capitalist factory places these categories of the working population in particularly hard conditions... but endeavours completely to ban the work of women and juveniles in industry, or to maintain the patriarchal manner of life that ruled out such work, would be reactionary and utopian.

"By destroying the patriarchal isolation of these categories of the population... by drawing them into direct participation in social production, large-scale machine industry stimulates their development and increases their independence."

Lenin also noted that in capitalist society the progressive process of drawing women into production could not lead to their complete emancipation, for workers (including women) were the object of exploitation by capitalists, the source of their profits. By underpaying women workers, the capitalists reduced the cost of men's labour and thereby split the ranks of the working class.

Lenin constantly stressed that the women's movement for emancipation and the general struggle of the working class for the liberation

of all working people from exploitation and for the overthrow of capitalism and the building of socialism had the same objectives. He also repeatedly emphasized that the woman worker and the peasant woman had no special aims and interests other than the class aims and interests of the proletariat as a whole. The interests of the woman worker and the peasant woman were identical with those of all workers and peasants, and they found expression in the general demands of the working people and in their fight against the exploiters, the capitalists and the landlords.

For this reason Lenin severely criticized those bourgeois women's organizations which diverted women from the class struggle and misled them onto the false path of struggle between the sexes.

Lenin also developed the Marxist thesis that it is impossible to change the degraded situation of women unless the capitalist system is destroyed.

As he pointed out, "the most important step is the abolition of the private ownership of land and the factories. This and this alone opens up the way towards a complete and actual emancipation of woman."

* * *

Time and again Lenin emphasized the need for working women to take an active part in the struggle of the proletariat. At the very beginning of the workers' movement Lenin considered ways to awaken the class consciousness of the woman worker and the peasant woman, and to

organize them into a movement. At a later stage he formulated a basic thesis: "There can be no socialist revolution unless very many working women take a big part in it."

According to Lenin, the involvement of women in the revolutionary movement and their complete emancipation and equality were necessary, not only for themselves, but also for all the rest of the oppressed workers.

The development of the workers' movement in Russia, and the propaganda and organizational work carried on by Lenin's Party among working women in both town and country, served to draw increasing numbers of women into the revolutionary political struggle against autocracy and capitalism.

Lenin believed in a mass women's movement. He said: "We will abolish everything which tortures and oppresses the woman worker, the housewife, the peasant woman, the wife of the petty trader, yes, and in many cases the women of the possessing classes."

The working woman under capitalism bears the burden of dual oppression—as a member of the working class and as woman. But women belonging to other classes are also in an inferior position and they are also vitally concerned to see the question of women's place in society successfully resolved.

Even before the Party was organized the revolutionary social-democrats, on Lenin's initiative, had used leaflets and underground publications in their work amongst women workers. One of the first leaflets addressed to the workers of Thornton's factory in St. Petersburg (now

Leningrad) was edited by Lenin in 1895, when he was in prison.

The communist newspaper *Iskra*, organized by Lenin in 1900, played an important part in awakening the political consciousness of working women. The newspaper was published abroad and secretly distributed in Russia.

The Party's demand that women be emancipated was reflected in the first programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (i. e. the Communist Party) adopted in 1903.

The programme called for universal, equal and direct suffrage for all citizens, their full equality regardless of sex, religious belief, race and nationality; free and compulsory general education and vocational training for all children of both sexes; an eight-hour workday; prohibition of the employment of children under 17 and of women in occupations harmful to their health; the provision of nurseries; maternity leave on full pay; extra free time for nursing mothers; and the enforcement of employment protection for women.

The first Russian revolution of 1905, which was the forerunner of the Socialist Revolution of 1917, involved millions of women in revolutionary battles. Women workers took part in strikes and demonstrations, and they also fought on the barricades.

The communist newspaper *Pravda* (founded in 1914) and the *Rabotnitsa* magazine for women, founded on Lenin's initiative, did much to promote the political awareness of women workers.

While conducting large-scale political orientation work among working women in order to

wrest them from the bourgeois women's movement and draw them into the revolutionary struggle, Lenin and the Party took constant care to train a hard core of professional revolutionaries in their midst.

As a result of sustained propaganda, and of the orientation and organizational work of the Leninist Party, women workers were prepared for the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917, and played an active part in it. On International Women's Day, March 8, 1917 (February 23, according to the Old Calendar) the women workers of Petrograd demonstrated publicly against tsarism, the imperialist war and the famine.

By their heroic efforts during the Great October Socialist Revolution, the women of our country inscribed glorious pages in the history of the workers' and women's movements in Russia. Together with the men they fought and worked in the crucial sectors. They were commanders and commissars of military units, and they tended the wounded. They took part in the storming of the Winter Palace in Petrograd and fought on the barricades in Moscow, Kiev and Minsk, in the towns and cities of Siberia, the Urals, the Far East, the Central Asia and Transcaucasia.

In many articles and speeches Lenin paid tribute to the part women had played in the struggle for the triumph of the October Revolution.

He said in a speech: "In Petrograd, here in Moscow, in other towns and industrial centres the women workers acted splendidly during the revolution. Without them we should not have

been victorious. Or scarcely so. That is my opinion."

The victorious socialist revolution and the establishment of Soviet government called forth the desperate resistance of all the counter-revolutionary forces in the country and caused the intervention of 14 imperialist states bent on strangling the young Soviet Republic. In the first days of Soviet rule Lenin called on the people to defend the gains of the October Revolution.

"No revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself..." he pointed out.

The women of the young Republic of Soviets proved to be dedicated defenders of the revolution. During the Civil War and the foreign intervention they organized assistance to the front and joined medical detachments.

Lenin highly praised the part played by women in the establishment of Soviet power. He said: "How brave they were, how brave they still are... Yes, our proletarian women are excellent class fighters. They deserve admiration and love."

* * *

The Great October Socialist Revolution which marks the advent of a new historical epoch, that of man's transition from capitalism to socialism, has made possible the realization of the centuries-old dream of women—their social and spiritual emancipation.

Lenin did not just elaborate in theory the question of women's emancipation. He also drafted the decrees and laws of Soviet power aimed

at making women the equals of men. The first decrees of Soviet power on peace and land signed by Lenin accorded with women's vital interests. For example, the decree on land enabled the peasant woman to receive land as an equal of men, thereby destroying the economic foundation of women's dependence and oppression. In tsarist times land had been allotted to men only. However, that was just the first step towards women's emancipation. Lenin wrote: "They will only be completely emancipated when we change from small-scale individual farming to collective farming and collective working of the land."

For the first time in history women were accorded equal rights with men. They were also given the right to work and were paid at the same rates as men. Decrees making women the equals of men in the family were also adopted.

The labour laws for the protection of women and children and laws for the protection of motherhood and childhood expressed the state's concern for the mother.

All this was written into the Constitution of the young Soviet Republic adopted in 1918. Under the constitution all citizens were equal irrespective of sex, race and nationality.

Lenin declared in 1919: "Soviet power, the power of the working people, in the first months of its existence effected a very definite revolution in legislation that concerns women. Nothing whatever is left in the Soviet Republic of those laws that put women in a subordinate position."

The Communist Party stressed, however, that it would not merely proclaim women's equality and legally formalize it. As Lenin indicated: "It

is the chief task of the working women's movement to fight for economic and social equality, and not only formal equality for women."

To achieve this equality Lenin deemed it necessary to draw women into all the multifarious activities of socialist society, to free them from domestic drudgery, and to ensure protection of mothers and children by the state. All these tasks were written into the second Party Programme adopted by the 8th Congress.

In the formative years of the Soviet state much attention was given to the forms and methods of work among women. Those were the difficult years of the Civil War and foreign intervention, of economic dislocation, famine and grim class struggle. The struggle to emancipate women was part of the uncompromising class struggle. Religious fanatics and members of the exploiting classes, and the ignorance of both men and women hampered the efforts to emancipate women. It was necessary to appeal to their dignity and make them confident of their strength.

In approaching the question of women's emancipation in a country inhabited by more than a hundred nations and nationalities at different stages of development, in a country where nearly all women were illiterate, the Party set about working out and implementing forms and methods of work that would be easily understood by women. Lenin spoke several times on the question in the early days of Soviet government. He addressed the First All-Russia Congress of Women Workers and Peasants in November, 1918, the students taking the course in educational work sponsored by the Department of Ma-

ternity and Child Protection on March 8, 1919, and the Fourth Moscow Non-Party Conference of Women Workers on September, 23, 1919. He spoke about the essential tasks of Soviet power at the time and about the immense role millions of women could play in the building of socialism.

Following the First All-Russia Congress of Women Workers and Peasants, commissions for conducting educational work among women, and later special departments, were set up under Party committees.

A big role in promoting educational work among women was played by the meetings of delegates. They served as a link between the Party and the great majority of the women, who were not Party members. The delegates were elected for one year by women workers, peasants and housewives. At their meetings, talks on current politics were given and practical questions discussed.

Each delegate was to put in a period of training at a Soviet's executive committee, a kindergarten, a co-operative or some other organization. Many of the delegates stayed on after their training period and continued as full-time employees. In this way women were drawn into public activities and learned how to run public affairs.

In the Soviet East where feudal, patriarchal and even tribal relations were particularly deep-rooted educational work among women was conducted with due consideration for the local conditions.

In those areas women's clubs and educational centres for peasant women were set up along

with the meetings of delegates. At these centres women were taught to read and write, were introduced to the world's cultural riches, and acquired a trade. They were given medical advice and attended child-care and housekeeping courses. The women's clubs produced the first activists who later went to work at factories, enrolled at specialized secondary schools and colleges, and served in the Soviets.

Lenin attached great importance to the emancipation of the women of Russia's eastern borderlands. He warmly greeted the delegates to a conference of women of Central Asia. After an interview with the delegates from Turkestan in the summer of 1921 he observed: "The most downtrodden are awakening to a conscious life. Now the victory of the working people is assured."

Attending congresses, conferences and delegates' meetings, millions of women workers and peasants exchanged experiences which helped them run production and manage public affairs. The ranks of activists were growing, and the best of them joined the Party.

Lenin's theses on the social emancipation of women and his revolutionary work towards that end provided guidelines for Party activities.

* * *

Lenin considered women's involvement in production to be all-important. He said: "To effect her complete emancipation and make her the equal of the man it is necessary for the national economy to be socialized and for women to par-

ticipate in common productive labour. Then women will occupy the same position as men."

Socialism has given Soviet women wide opportunities to exercise their right to work which gives them genuine equality with men.

Women's involvement in socialist production is essential for their personal cultural development and for increasing their civic and political awareness. Socially useful work elevates women above their domestic chores, gives them economic independence, and raises them to a new position in society and in the family.

The country's progress in the building of socialism, the building up of its key industries, the setting up of the collective farm system, and its economic success in general, gave women an incentive to work, encouraged them to acquire various trades and improve their qualifications. Many women were promoted to positions of leadership.

At the present time half the country's wage and salary earners are women. In industry they make up 48 per cent of the total personnel; in transport, 24 per cent; in communications services, 67 per cent; in shops, public catering, agencies concerned with supplies and sales, 75 per cent; in the health services, physical-culture establishments, and social security, 85 per cent; in education and the cultural sphere, 72 per cent; in scientific institutions and ancillary services, 47 per cent; on collective farms, 53 per cent; on state farms and at agricultural enterprises, 43 per cent.

It is pertinent to recall here that in pre-revolutionary Russia, 80 per cent of all working women were employed as servants or farm hands,

13 per cent worked in factories and on building sites and a mere four per cent worked in educational establishments and the health services.

In the task of drawing women into socially useful work, Lenin considered it extremely important that women qualify for better jobs.

According to the Marxist-Leninist principle whereby men and women are equal, they are free to choose occupations best suited to their individual abilities. The scientific and technological revolution is increasingly generating favourable conditions for putting this principle into effect.

The scientific and technological revolution facilitates the solution of many social and technological problems including those connected with women's employment in some branches of the economy. The utilization of atomic energy, the development of antibiotics and polymers, the development of computers, the exploration of outer space—these are only some of the advances made by science within the past three decades.

The scientific and technological revolution is accelerating the use of scientific innovations in production. Industrial growth-rates are rising, and other sectors of the economy are also making rapid progress. New energy sources are being utilized. Some of man's functions connected with his mental activity are being delegated to machines, and this has opened the way to the automation of production.

The provision of industrial enterprises with the latest techniques has a revolutionary effect on the character of labour; arduous jobs are fast disappearing.

An increasing number of women are master-

ing trades and professions traditionally regarded as "men's work". The automation and mechanization of production processes makes many new jobs accessible to women, so that it has become possible to extend the field of women's employment in highly mechanized and automated factories. This demands higher qualifications of the personnel and leads to pay rises. Now that the scientific and technological revolution is well under way, it has become a matter of first importance to improve the efficiency of women's work. Vocational education is playing a major role in this matter and there is an extensive network of vocational schools in the USSR where girls are trained in 975 trades.

Workers are also trained by factory-and-workshop schools, and there are various ways of improving qualifications right on the job. All working people may receive general, specialized secondary and higher education by studying at evening departments and by correspondence.

The state not only foots the bill for education but also grants privileges to those who study without leaving their jobs.

It is important to note that education in the USSR is accessible to all at all stages, that it is free of charge, there are no restrictions on account of sex, nationality or social origin, that there is a unified compulsory programme, that instruction is conducted in the native language of the students and there is an extensive system of grants and scholarships.

Every graduate be it a man or a woman is guaranteed work in his or her speciality and in accordance with his qualifications.

The task of drawing more women into those branches of farm work requiring skilled labour is being successfully carried out.

Ways to train machine operators have been mapped out, 3-year vocational schools are being opened in villages; and women who decide to become machine-operators will enjoy various privileges and material benefits.

The production of farm machines suited for operation by women has been started.

In Soviet years women have invaded the whole sphere of white-collar work.

In 1970, the number of women-specialists with a higher education or a specialized secondary education was 62 times the 1928 figure and now constitutes 59 per cent of the total number of specialists. A third of the engineers in the Soviet Union are women, as also are 19 per cent of all chief plant engineers, 46 per cent of all farm specialists, 72 per cent of the doctors and 71 per cent of the teachers.

More and more women are becoming scientists and scholars. There are more than 3,000 women with the degree of Doctor of Science in the country, 60,700 with the degree of Candidate of Science (the equivalent of a Master's degree), and 1,800 women Academician, Corresponding Members of the Academy of Sciences and professors.

Women are playing a big part in the advancement of literature and the arts. Nearly 15,000 Soviet women are members of the writers', journalists', composers', artists', film-makers', or architects' unions. About 500 women have won

the Lenin and State Prizes for achievements in science and technology, literature, arts and architecture.

As Lenin pointed out, "there is no doubt that we have far more *organizing talent* among the working and peasant women than we are aware of, that we have far more people than we know of who can organize practical work."

In Soviet years many women have become organizers of production, heads of collective farms, managers of enterprises, heads of cultural establishments, schools, academic institutions, research laboratories, and medical establishments.

The fact that many Soviet women have a higher technical education and vast experience in practical work in various sectors of the economy makes it possible for us to appoint more women to responsible posts of economic and state importance. This task will be more vigorously tackled in the immediate years ahead.

The experience of building socialism in the USSR has borne out the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that socialism and communism can be built only if large numbers of women take part in this work.

Soviet women have become an active force in the building of a communist society. They are playing an important part in the socialist emulation movement—the drive of communist labour teams for higher output in excess of production targets, the introduction of scientific and technical innovations, and in spreading the knowledge and practice of advanced labour techniques and methods.

This is evidence of a new attitude to work and

of a concern for the interests of the entire society.

Nearly 1,100,000 women have received government decorations; 3,925 women have been awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labour. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union paid high tribute to our Soviet women—the working women, the mothers, the heroines.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government always do their utmost to improve working conditions for men and women in all occupations.

Lenin envisioned the time when socialism “will make working conditions more hygienic, will free millions of workers from smoke, dust and dirt, and accelerate the transformation of dirty repulsive workshops into clean bright laboratories worthy of human beings.” And now this dream of Lenin’s is coming true.

Socialism has brought the Soviet people great benefits: unemployment was completely done away with long ago, a seven-hour work-day has been introduced (by contrast, the workers at most Russian enterprises laboured for ten to twelve hours a day before the Revolution). Workers at some factories now work for six (or even fewer) hours a day, six days a week. A five-day working week with two days off has been introduced in some industries.

Special provisions for the protection of women workers have been made statutory. For example, it is forbidden to employ women on arduous work or work that is harmful to health.

Much is done in the USSR to promote research

concerned with labour protection and sanitation.

* * *

Lenin was convinced that it was impossible to completely emancipate women and turn them into active builders of the new life unless they could be drawn into state administration. He said... "you cannot draw the masses into politics without drawing in the women as well."

Assessing the role women Communists played in the first years of Soviet government Lenin noted: "That is of very great value to us. It is also important for women all over the world. It shows the capacity of women, the great value their work has for society."

Lenin considered it necessary to make participation in political life possible for every working woman. This, naturally, required time, but the process was incredibly fast in the young Soviet Republic. The constantly growing political awareness of women is a feature of Soviet socialist democracy. The wide-scale participation of women in the work of state administration bodies is evidence of the success achieved in the emancipation of women. Nearly a million women are elected Deputies to the Soviets of the Working People. This is 46 per cent of the total number of Deputies in the local Soviets.

Thousands of women are on the executive committees of the local Soviets working as Chairmen, Deputy Chairmen, and Department Heads.

The Soviets rely on women activists. Millions of public-spirited women are on district, street and house committees, in public inspection agen-

cies, women's councils, and volunteer public order squads.

A growing number of women are elected to the Soviet Parliament. There were only 189 women in the USSR Supreme Soviet of the first convocation (1937); by contrast, there were 463 women (31 per cent of the total number) in the Supreme Soviet of the eighth convocation.

Women constituted a third of all the Deputies to the recently elected Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics.

Many Soviet women hold responsible elective government posts, are members of the Supreme Soviet Presidiums of the USSR and of the Republics, and are Presidents of the Supreme Soviet Presidiums in a number of the Autonomous Republics.

Women hold high posts in the Councils of Ministers of the USSR and of the Republics. Ten women are Deputy Chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of the Republics; and 28 women are Ministers, including Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, various Industries, Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, General Education, Culture, Social Security, and Communal Services. Many women are Deputy Ministers of both all-Union and Republican Ministries.

Soviet women play a prominent role in the country's judicial bodies. Nearly a third of the people's judges are women, as are 35 per cent of the advocates, and 48.3 of the people's assessors.

Three million women are members of the Communist Party. Many of them have been elected or appointed to leading Party bodies and

posts—the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, etc.

They are also secretaries of the territorial, regional, municipal and district Party committees and primary organizations. Many of them are lecturers disseminating Lenin's ideas among the people.

Over 12 million girls make up more than half the total membership of the Young Communist League (YCL).

Our women are active in the trade unions where they comprise half the membership. A third of the members of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the highest trade union body, are women. In republican, territorial and regional trade union bodies women account for 45 per cent of the membership.

The progress made in drawing women into government and social affairs is in large measure due to the Party's efforts to educate the working people.

As Lenin pointed out, it was necessary to effect a revolution in the people's mentality so as to make women feel they were full and equal members of society. He also said: "Our political work embraces a great deal of educational work among men. We must root out the old 'master' idea to its last and smallest root. In the Party and among the masses."

From the very first, the Soviet government had to fight the prevailing deep-seated, biased attitude to women, and religious prejudices, attitudes, and customs, which were a serious obstacle to the emancipation of women. Lenin and the Party were aware that communist education of

the people would take time and painstaking effort.

In Soviet years the Leninist Party has raised a multi-million generation of politically conscious, capable and conscientious women, devoted to their socialist homeland.

The Great Patriotic War (1941-45) came as a severe trial for the Soviet people. Millions of Soviet women took over the work of the men who had gone to the front—in factories, on the farms, at research and academic institutions.

The Soviet women not only worked without thought for themselves during the Great Patriotic War; they also fought at the front.

It has been estimated that over a million women took a direct part in active combat.

Names which symbolize the courage, fortitude and staunchness of Soviet women are indelibly inscribed in the history of the war. They include Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, Liza Chaikina, Marina Raskova, Anya Morozova, Lyudmila Pavlichenko, Marina Chechneva, Ulya Gromova, Manshuk Mamedova, Maryte Melnikaite and many others. There were women in every guerrilla detachment and underground organization.

Ninety-one women were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union.

* * *

The building of socialism in our country was bound up with a cultural revolution. Lenin defined a cultural revolution as a complete revolution, a whole period of rapid cultural development of the masses. He pointed out that the Great October Revolution had aroused in the work-

ing people a tremendous thirst for culture, scientific knowledge, and education. He said: "There is a mighty urge for light and knowledge 'down below'... We can be proud that we are promoting and fostering this urge."

In elaborating the theory of the cultural revolution in the USSR and in outlining concrete plans for carrying it out, Lenin emphasized its great role in women's emancipation, in achieving the actual equality of women, in drawing women into the economic, political and cultural life of society, and in moulding the new, spiritually ennobled man.

Lenin considered that the literacy of the entire people was the fundamental requisite for the creation of a socialist culture. "An illiterate person," he noted, "stands outside politics, he must first learn his ABC. Without that there can be no politics; without that there are rumours, gossip, fairy-tales and prejudices, but not politics."

In pre-revolutionary Russia, nearly 75 per cent of the entire population and about 83 per cent of all women under 49 years of age were illiterate. Practically all women in the country's non-Russian borderlands were illiterate. In 1908, the Russian magazine, *Vestnik vospitaniya* (*Education News*) estimated that Russia would take at least 280 years to achieve universal literacy among the women.

Contrary to this forecast, Soviet Government resolved this problem within a couple of decades. Illiteracy among women had largely been eradicated by 1939. The Soviet schools had flung their doors wide open for the people and thereby eliminated the centuries-old gulf between the people and education. The number of women

studying at specialized secondary schools and higher educational establishments was increasing rapidly.

By 1970 almost ten million women had a higher education or a specialized secondary education, so that large numbers of women had joined the ranks of Soviet intelligentsia. Women now work in practically all professions. They are teachers, doctors, engineers, writers, scientists and musicians.

The history of higher education in tsarist Russia bears record to only a few exceptional cases of women who managed to enter the universities. But after graduation they rarely found employment in their homeland.

Today, there are a great number of women engaged in scientific work in many fields, who are making an immense contribution to the development of science.

The cultural revolution in the non-Russian republics proceeded in a situation of sharp class struggle against the rich, against the reactionary Moslem clergy and against the bourgeois nationalists. This struggle served to heighten the class awareness of women and propelled them into social activity.

The socialist ideology in our country was taking root while the country was encircled by the hostile capitalist states.

Lenin repeatedly warned that this encirclement exerting military, diplomatic, economic and ideological pressures would continue its attempts to restore capitalism or would at least retard the country's economic development, the creation of a new life and the fostering of socialist consciousness.

At the present stage of historical development when the pillars of the old world are being destroyed by socialism and all the revolutionary forces, the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism is being greatly intensified.

The immense machinery of anti-communist propaganda is now aimed at weakening the unity of the socialist countries and the world communist movement, at disuniting the forces of progress and undermining the socialist community from within. The ideologists of anti-communism are doing their utmost to distort Lenin's teachings, to make out that they have lost their revolutionary meaning and strength, and to neutralize the revolutionary influence exerted by Leninism. In this atmosphere special importance attaches to the fostering in the working people of the great ideology of Marxism-Leninism, and an uncompromising struggle against the ideology of capitalism and anti-communism.

Soviet women are in the forefront of the ideological struggle against anti-communism. Inspired by the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism they are dedicated fighters for communism and against all the different attempts to revise and falsify the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

* * *

While attaching great importance to women's involvement in the building of socialism and in managing the affairs of socialist society, Marxism-Leninism does not belittle the role of the family as the basic unit of society or women's role in the family.

In the very first days of Soviet government the

young socialist republic accorded equal rights to men and women in matters of marriage, the family and divorce. Equal rights were also ensured for all children, born in wedlock or out of wedlock. A married woman was given a free choice of profession, place of residence, and family name and enjoyed the same property rights as men.

The changes that had occurred in the family during the development of Soviet society found expression in the fundamental legislation concerning the family and marriage introduced in 1968 in the USSR and in the individual republics. This new legislation is based on the Leninist principles that ought to govern family relations.

As Lenin repeatedly stressed, the problems of marriage and family relations are closely associated with those of transforming social relations as a whole, and woman's position in the family and her position in society are interdependent.

The development of new family relations and the improvement of woman's position in the family take time and are part of the process of building up the material and technical foundations of Soviet society, of improving social relations and of moulding the new man.

Marriage and family relations in the Soviet Union are as a rule based on love, mutual respect, the equality of husband and wife, their co-operation in domestic work, and the joint responsibility of parents for the upbringing of their children.

Soviet women are exerting a growing influence on the views, habits and mutual relations in the family.

A woman who is keen for knowledge, who is

aware of the basic principles of modern education, and who engages in creative work has the possibility of doing much more for the upbringing of her children.

The process of drawing women into the sphere of public activities on a mass scale which is now taking place all over the world has led to changes in the traditional division of labour between men and women. Formerly, the man was the sole breadwinner for the family while the wife's chief concerns were housekeeping and the upbringing of the children. Today both the woman and the man are in equal measure pre-occupied with work for society and also engage in public activities.

How is it possible for a woman to combine her domestic work (the upbringing of children and housekeeping) with her new roles in society? To a certain extent the solution lies in the distribution of domestic chores and duties between husband and wife. This trend is now evident in many families, particularly the younger ones.

The main way of resolving this problem in the Soviet Union, however, is for the state to play an increasing part in the upbringing and education of children and establish a system of multiple service establishments to cater for the household needs of the population.

This way was charted by Lenin in the first years of Soviet government and it proved to be the only correct way of solving the question of women's emancipation.

In 1919, Lenin called the first Soviet kindergartens and nurseries the first "shoots of communism" and urged that they be cherished.

Pre-school institutions for children are built on

a large scale in the USSR. In 1970, they accommodated over nine million children. Besides, there are kindergartens and nurseries in rural communities which function in the summer and at harvest time and accommodate 4.5 million children.

The Soviet state allocates large funds for the construction of pre-school institutions. Parents pay token sums for the maintenance of their children in kindergartens and nurseries which makes the pre-school establishments easy of access for all working people.

The immediate task is to meet fully the demand for pre-school institutions. This task is all the more urgent in view of the fact that the numbers of pre-school children are growing.

Great attention is paid to constantly improving the work of these institutions and the qualifications of their personnel.

An important role in the education of children by society is played by out-of-school establishments such as the Palaces and Houses of Young Pioneers, children's theatres, technical stations, stadiums, libraries, and bases for hikers. The "prolonged-day groups" where children stay after classes and where their homework and recreation are supervised also play a most important part.

These forms of child education and upbringing will be further developed to make co-operation between the family and society in bringing up children on communist principles increasingly effective.

A system of mother-and-child protection has been developed in the Soviet Union. The state undertakes to protect the health of mothers and

newly-born infants. This concern by the state, together with the achievements of Soviet medicine, has served to practically eliminate deaths from childbirth and has reduced infant mortality to a very low level.

A Soviet woman is entitled to a maternity leave of four months on full pay. This can be extended for one year after childbirth, but without pay. Her job is kept open for her and the time spent on maternity leave is included in her total work record.

Nursing mothers take the necessary time off work to feed their babies without any loss of pay.

Much is being done in the Soviet Union to improve services for the population. In the past decade the combined capacity of state-run canteens and dining-rooms has doubled, and now over 60 million people use them.

State-run laundries, dry-cleaning services, and multiple service establishments are expanding their services. Household durables and labour-saving devices are being mass-produced.

From year to year domestic work is being increasingly automated and mechanized; electricity and gas are being used for domestic purposes on a growing scale; and handy gadgets and labour-saving appliances are increasing in variety and are being sold cheaply. The building of comfortable homes, of course, plays the most important part in improving family living.

And yet there is still much to be done to help women save time now consumed by housekeeping. The solution of this problem will make for the further harmonious development of the Soviet woman, the mother, the worker.

Lenin, the great internationalist, considered the solidarity of women all over the world in their struggle for social emancipation to be of utmost importance. He attached great importance to the development of the international women's movement and its ideological orientation.

In 1907 the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart and the First International Socialist Women's Conference, held simultaneously, discussed the then burning issue of women's suffrage. Lenin wrote an article on the occasion titled *The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart* in which he summed up the results of the Congress. He dwelt on a debate that had flared up at the Congress between the German and the Austrian social democrats, and supported the position of the former who demanded that suffrage be extended not only to men but to women, too. This, he believed, would strengthen the mass movement.

Thus, from the outset of the world proletarian movement, Lenin wanted social democrats to attach more importance to the women's movement and not to make concessions to the bourgeoisie on the issue.

Lenin believed that women must not merely fight for their rights but must also oppose imperialism. He called on women to oppose imperialist wars, and he showed a lively interest in the International Socialist Women's Conference at Berne in 1915 which discussed the attitude of women to the imperialist war. Lenin did much to assist the delegates from the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party to prepare for the Conference.

“He drafted our Resolution for the Berne wo-

men's Conference and followed its proceedings throughout," recalled Nadezhda Krupskaya.

In his article *On the Struggle Against Social-Chauvinism* Lenin pinpointed the essential differences at the conference. He pointed out that a women's conference must not help opportunists "...to blunt the vigilance of the working masses. On the contrary, it should have tried to rouse them and declared a decisive war against opportunism."

In 1919, on Lenin's initiative, the Third International, which united the working class parties on Marxist-Leninist principles, was founded, and some time later an International Women's Secretariat was formed. International conferences of women communists subsequently came to be held in Moscow. Klara Zetkin, as Head of the International Women's Secretariat, often consulted with Lenin, the founder of the Comintern and its ideological leader.

During one such interview Lenin expressed his views on the international communist women's movement. He said that "real freedom for women is possible only through Communism. The inseparable connection between the social and human position of the woman, and private property in the means of production, must be strongly brought out. That will draw a clear and ineradicable line of distinction between our policy and feminism. And it will also supply the basis for regarding the woman question as part of the social question, of the workers' problem, and so bind it firmly to the proletarian class struggle and the revolution."

Lenin taught that the Communist and Work-

ers' Parties should always take into consideration the concrete situation, for life posed more and more problems which must be considered in determining the Party's tactics in the struggle for its ultimate objectives.

The changed international situation in the 1930's, the nazi takeover in Germany, and the growing war danger necessitated the formation of all democratic, anti-fascist forces into single front.

In the new historical situation a wide democratic women's movement became an urgent necessity, and a pooling of the efforts of all women's organizations and movements opposing fascism and war became a matter of first priority.

A world congress of women against fascism and war was held in Paris in 1934. The Congress called upon the women of all countries to take an active part in the struggle for peace, and formed an International Women's Committee Against War and Fascism which was supported by the Soviet representatives among others.

The decisions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern held in 1935 which urged a united front of all democratic forces in the struggle against war and fascism did much to promote the mass women's movement.

The Second World War started by nazi Germany gave rise to a mighty patriotic movement of nations against the nazi invaders. Women played a major part in the movement. Mass women's democratic organizations were formed in many countries. They provided a foundation for a more powerful democratic women's movement on a world scale which led to the institution on

December 1, 1945, of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

The Federation immediately proclaimed its objectives: the struggle for peace, national independence, the equality of women and happiness for children.

For more than 25 years now this mass democratic women's organization has been steadily pursuing its aims and it has earned the profound respect and trust of women all over the world.

The Federation follows the principle of close co-operation with all progressive national and international social forces.

The International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in June, 1969, paid tribute to the part which women are playing in the struggle being waged by the progressive forces of the present day.

"An important feature of our epoch is the large-scale participation of women in the class struggle, the anti-imperialist movement and, in particular, the struggle for peace. This is strikingly demonstrated in the massive protest campaigns against the US aggression in Vietnam. The number of women engaged in production and other spheres is increasing. Their political consciousness is growing and their struggle for economic and social rights is becoming more active. Working women demand an end to discrimination in the remuneration for their work, full equality in civil rights, a maternity protection programme and so on. They are participating more and more actively in the battles of the workers and democratic forces, and are joining

the trade unions in increasing numbers. The Communist and Workers' Parties, in whose activity women members participate on the basis of complete equality, emphatically support their demands and regard the emancipation of women as an important element of the general democratic movement. The example of the socialist countries, where women are guaranteed full equality, serves as a great source of encouragement to women engaged in struggle in the capitalist world."

Soviet women are active in the women's international democratic movement. They, like the entire Soviet people, are unanimous in supporting the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Government designed to curb imperialist aggression and promote world peace.

They support the ending of the aggression in South-East Asia, and the elimination of the threat of war in the Middle East, and are in favour of the creation of a system of collective security in Europe in the interests of all nations. Therefore Soviet women are active in the movement of solidarity with the heroic people of Vietnam who are fighting the US imperialists. They also support the just struggle which the Arab peoples are waging against Israeli aggression. And they strongly support the women of the colonial countries whose peoples are fighting for their independence and freedom.

Soviet women co-operate with the women's movements and organizations of the countries that have toppled colonialist rule and embarked upon the building of a new life.

The exchange of experience by the women's

organizations of the socialist countries, and their mutual support, will increasingly serve to rally the entire women's democratic movement.

Soviet women will always be faithful to the Leninist precept about strengthening proletarian and socialist internationalism and international friendship.

Soviet experience demonstrates that only loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the implementation of Lenin's ideas make it possible to solve the question of women's emancipation and that only under socialism can women play a worthy role in society.

The successful solution of the question of women's emancipation in the USSR and the other socialist countries is a great contribution to the world-wide struggle for women's emancipation.

Part I.

*The Role Played by Women in the
Revolutionary and Liberation
Movement, in the Struggle for
National Independence, and in the
Defence of Socialist Motherland*

*LE THI XUEN, Deputy Chairman
of the Women's Union of Vietnam
(DRV)*

Women of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—Champions of the National Liberation Struggle and Builders of Socialism

The people of Vietnam, and all the women of our country express their sincere gratitude and pay their homage to Vladimir Lenin, the outstanding teacher and leader of the working people of all countries, who carried further the theoretical work of Marx and Engels and devoted his life to liberating the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world.

The victory of the October Revolution, brought to a successful conclusion under Lenin's guidance, ushered in a new era in the history of mankind. Marxism-Leninism has been victorious in

a number of countries, and the emergence of the world socialist system has been a major achievement of the world revolutionary process.

Today the socialist community is a decisive factor in world development.

President Ho Chi Minh, a faithful and outstanding disciple of Lenin and the great leader of the working class and people of Vietnam, was the first proponent of Leninism in our country. Under his leadership the Communist Party of Indo-China, now the Vietnamese Workers' Party, applied the tenets of Marxism-Leninism and the valuable experience of the October Revolution to the specific conditions of Vietnam and elaborated a correct course which turned the Vietnamese revolution into a people's democratic revolution. This was carried out in a colonial, semi-colonial and backward agrarian country with a subsequent transition to socialism, without passing through the stage of capitalism. With the victory of the August Revolution there emerged in South-East Asia for the first time a state of workers and peasants, all the working people—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. A breach was made in the weakest link of the imperialist colonial system, leading to the break-up of this system in a world where the October Revolution had been victorious and the socialist system had emerged.

Today the Vietnamese people are building socialism in the northern part of the country and at the same time are waging a defensive war against US imperialism, the most brutal self-styled international policeman, in order to liberate South Vietnam, to defend socialist North Vietnam, and, finally, to bring about a peaceful uni-

fication of their motherland. In this struggle we have come to the conclusion that if any people, no matter how small, unites its ranks, is resolved to fight for its liberation and adheres to a correct revolutionary line, if it receives support and aid from the socialist countries and from peoples all over the world, this people will achieve a victory over any aggressor, including the imperialist ringleaders.

Lenin, the great leader of the world revolution, showed the road to emancipation to the women of the world.

Our Party has correctly applied Lenin's teachings to the specific conditions of revolutionary struggle in our country and has mapped out a correct political course for work among women, closely linking the cause of women's emancipation with the revolution of national liberation and the liberation of the working class. This has enabled the Party to mobilize the huge revolutionary forces of women and thus bring the revolution to an outstanding victory and speed up the emancipation of women.

Under the colonial and semi-feudal systems the Vietnamese women were ruthlessly exploited by both the imperialists and the feudal elements. They were chained by the shackles of feudal morals and customs. French colonialism was a system of violence and plunder leading to the annihilation of the population. The present regime established by the United States in South Vietnam is even more brutal. Women and children are being massacred, elementary human rights and the dignity of women are flagrantly violated. But the revolutionary spirit of the Vietnamese women is not daunted and they are

staunch in their struggle. Our Party has greatest respect for the noble traditions of the women of Vietnam. President Ho Chi Minh said, "The women of Vietnam have a tradition of unflagging work and courageous struggle against foreign invaders. As early as the 1st century A. D. the Trung sisters raised the banner of struggle against foreign aggressors to save their country. And right to the present day, in the grim hours of danger the Vietnamese women have unfailingly taken up arms and made a valuable contribution to the cause of national liberation."

The Vietnamese Workers' Party is of the opinion that the revolution cannot be victorious without the participation of women at large in the revolutionary struggle. Consequently work among women is a vital part of the Party's work among the people.

The revolutionary experience of our country has shown that the emancipation of women is of great importance for the whole of the work among the people, a question of state policy which should be of prime concern for Party organizations at all levels.

At the present stage of the revolution the emancipation of women is bound up with the struggle to save the country from the US aggressors and with the building of socialism in Vietnam.

Our Party has spared no efforts to show women that the road to their emancipation lies through their participation in the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants, and that their full emancipation can be achieved only with the liberation of their nation and the elimination of all forms of exploitation.

At each stage of the revolution our Party has

put specific goals in keeping with its general political line before the women's movement. The result of this has been that in our country this movement has always been an integral part of the general revolutionary movement. One of the ten tasks outlined in the first Programme of the Communist Party of Indo-China and adopted in 1930, was the achievement of equal rights for men and women.

The Party has attached great importance to the struggle for equal rights of men and women, the eradication of backward feudal customs concerning women, guaranteed work for women and equal wages for equal work, the improvement of their living conditions, and the abolition of taxes and duties.

Being fully aware that only under the leadership of the Party can emancipation be achieved, the women of Vietnam have actively joined in the revolutionary struggle.

In order to use the great revolutionary potential of women to the best advantage the Party has directed women's efforts into those spheres which are most suited to their physical abilities, and their psychological and personal qualities.

In the years preceding the August Revolution (1930-1945), the Party's general policy was aimed at achieving a national-democratic revolution, carrying on a political and armed struggle which was to grow into a general uprising to overthrow the rule of the French colonialists and Japanese fascists, and winning political power in the country. The women of Vietnam played their part in the political and armed struggle and other forms of revolutionary work with honour and took part in the general uprising. In the course

of this struggle the overwhelming majority of Vietnamese women displayed absolute loyalty to the Party and the revolution. They displayed feats of courage in overcoming numerous dangers and hardships while fulfilling the Party's assignments. Many women were cast into prison and were tortured but remained loyal to their Party. Many others were shot. Women have made a considerable contribution to the popular struggle against the French colonialists and Japanese militarists, which led to the August Revolution and the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Vietnamese women took an active part in the long war of resistance against the French colonialists; they fortified villages and organized resistance centres in areas under the French rule, fought in guerrilla detachments, frustrated the recruiting of coolies by the enemies, carried on educational work among the soldiers of the puppet army, and nursed the wounded. In the rear they replaced the men who had gone to the front, and supplied the revolutionary troops with food. At the same time they helped to build a new life, eradicated illiteracy, carried on social work and organized the protection of mothers and children. The women's movement did its share for the struggle of our people which resulted in the glorious victory over the French invaders at Dien Bien Phu.

When US imperialism unleashed the so-called special war in South Vietnam and then started the escalation of a destructive war against our Democratic Republic, all our people answered President Ho Chi Minh's call when he proclaimed: "There is nothing dearer than independence

and freedom," by taking up arms against the invaders. The people of Vietnam are resolved to fight against the US aggressors to a victorious end. In order to wage a successful struggle against the biggest imperialist power, which has huge military and economic resources at its disposal, the Party mobilized our people and developed the traditions of its struggle against foreign aggressors. It was able to combine the political and military struggle so that the military offensive and the people's uprising were one.

At this difficult time for the revolution, the Vietnamese Workers' Party devoted even more attention to the women's movement. As stated in the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers' Party on work among women, "In the present struggle against the US aggressors, just as in the former war of resistance, women have been playing an ever-increasing role in all spheres of activity and particularly in production, in ensuring military action and taking part in this action." On the appeal of the Party, Vietnamese mothers in both the north and south of the country, are once again sending their sons and daughters off to the war, and are themselves nursing the wounded and taking care of the soldiers. The Association of Vietnamese Women in North Vietnam has started a patriotic movement called "Three Duties". Its aims are to struggle against the US aggressors to save the country, to build socialism, and to compete with the women of the southern areas. This movement in which women of all ages and from all sections of the population are taking part is an important component of the revolutionary movement of all the Vietnamese people. It is of

revolutionary significance from the political, economic, cultural and social aspects. The "Three Duties" movement is creating favourable conditions for the fullest implementation of equality between men and women. In the war against the US aggressors the women of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are playing their part in state affairs and on the family front, and are rendering every support to the struggle of their compatriots in the South. Our women have made a significant contribution in the sphere of production, have provided normal living and working conditions for the people, have helped to supply the front and have also taken part in military action. The women of Vietnam have done their share in building up a strong rear and ensuring the uninterrupted transportation of supplies to the front lines. They are standing side by side with the men in a courageous defence of their country and have themselves shot down many enemy planes and sunk enemy vessels. Speaking of the women's movement the Party has noted that "Vietnamese women are full of courage; they are capable fighters against US imperialism for the salvation of their country".

In South Vietnam where the US imperialists are perpetrating their ghastly crimes, murdering old people, children and mothers to be, bringing grief to every family, Vietnamese women have risen against the enemy. They are a powerful force in all the spheres of the desperate struggle; their heroic actions are promoting the development of the revolutionary movement.

The women of the South fully deserve to be called "heroic, unbending, loyal and capable"

which is the way in which the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam has spoken about them. They helped their sons and husbands to win the "special war" and are working and fighting tirelessly for victory in the "local war" unleashed by the US imperialists.

Spurred on by unprecedented revolutionary heroism, our women have shown themselves to be an unconquerable revolutionary force, and the struggle of our people against the US invaders, for the independence of our country will undoubtedly culminate in a complete victory. The US aggressors are doomed to defeat.

Each victorious step of the revolution creates favourable conditions for the realization of the women's dreams of freedom, independence, happiness and progress. At the same time the Party has always shown concern for the emancipation of women and for seeing that their legal rights are safeguarded.

The National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has proclaimed in the Constitution the equality of men and women in all spheres of life: political, economic, cultural and social. The Party and the government have promulgated laws on marriage, social security, etc., which serve to protect the rights of women.

In a backward agrarian country such as Vietnam, the peasants are the most numerous revolutionary force. In the course of the national-liberation revolution the Party has introduced an agrarian reform and has mobilized the peasants to overthrow the landlord class in order to implement the slogan: "The land belongs to those who till it." For the first time in the long history of our country women have received the

right to own land.

The Vietnamese Workers' Party has adhered strictly to the Leninist principle that only with the reorganization of small peasant holdings into large-scale socialist farms does the emancipation of women begin, and that in order to emancipate women completely, to make them actually equal with men, there must be a socialized economy and women must be allowed to take part in the common work.

Our greatly loved late President, Ho Chi Minh, pointed out that without the emancipation of women the building of socialism could be achieved only half way. That is why the Party has closely linked the emancipation of women with the three components of the socialist revolution—the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution. In our country a revolution in production relations means chiefly the reorganization of small holdings of land. This enables women to take part in collective work and gives them equal rights in the economic sphere. The technological revolution has to do with socialist industrialization, and requires that women be efficiently employed in the work force with proper safeguards for the protection of their health as the mothers of our nation. The ideological and cultural revolution is essentially class struggle in the ideological and cultural sphere. Its goal is to do away with all feudal and anti-proletarian ideas, backward feudal survivals and any surviving arrogance towards women, to make possible the full and harmonious development of women, and to ensure them equal rights with men.

The women of the North are taking part in the building of socialism with pride and enthusiasm. Women make up 60 per cent of the total work-force employed in agriculture. They have been quick to take up the idea of agricultural co-operation and have done a lot to strengthen the agricultural co-operatives. They are playing a leading role in production, every-day life and family relations.

The number of women employed in the sphere of administration and the services, and industry is growing rapidly. Women constitute 37 per cent of all those employed in these spheres. In light industry, education, trade and the health services women make up from 50 to 60 per cent. They are improving their qualifications so as to be able to handle modern machinery and are making headway in science and technology. The principle "equal pay for work" has already been introduced.

Women are taking an active part in the ideological and cultural revolution, tirelessly combatting every evidence of feudal and bourgeois attitudes to women. They are establishing a new moral code and are sparing no efforts to raise their cultural, political and technological level and improve their knowledge so as to worthily fill their important place in the new society as leaders, and also as educators of new generations.

While drawing women into the sphere of production the Vietnamese Workers' Party has done all that has been possible to relieve women of tedious every-day chores which Lenin described as petty and stupefying. Nurseries, kindergartens, public canteens and public health centres

for women are set up on a national scale.

Our Party attaches great importance to the drawing of women into production management and state administration. The Party considers that the question of women workers should be linked with the emancipation of women and the women's movement.

The Party strongly opposes all feudal and un-proletarian views on the education, employment and promotion of women workers and is assisting them in every way to improve their qualification.

This has greatly increased the number of working women, particularly during the four years of the war against the US aggressors. There are at present tens of thousands of women among political workers, personnel dealing with economic and state management, scientific and technical workers, military personnel and Party leaders at all levels, and their number is growing at an unprecedented rate. There are 66 women deputies in the National Assembly. Women make up 37.26 per cent of the total in the regional people's councils and 42.85 per cent in local councils. More than 5,000 women are at the head of administrative committees, over 1,500 are chairmen of agricultural co-operatives and almost 20,000 are agricultural team leaders.

Women constitute 28.3 per cent of the scientific and technical workers. Under the former regime illiteracy among women ran to 90 per cent; today more than 5,400 women have a higher education.

Women have thus shown that they can successfully fill responsible posts in all spheres of the economy. As Lenin noted, through manage-

ment work women will learn quickly and will catch up with men.

The Party keeps up its efforts to increase women's class consciousness, to educate them in the communist spirit and in the spirit of genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and explains to them the policy of the Party and the government.

The Party teaches women to increase their revolutionary vigilance, sees that they understand what is at the back of barbarous actions and cunning schemes of the US imperialists so that hatred for the enemy will make them ready to endure sacrifices for their country, and willing to fight US imperialism until full victory is achieved.

Our Party fosters in women a feeling of responsibility for their own future and the destiny of their country, urges them to strive for further achievements in studies and work, and helps them to develop the features of citizens of a socialist country.

Together with ideological and educational work, our Party pays due attention to the setting up of women's organizations and the Party leadership of these organizations.

At each stage of the revolution the Party has set up women's organizations with a clear-cut programme in order to unite the women and awaken their class consciousness. It drew them into participating in the important tasks of the Party, and in the struggle for their own emancipation.

Today the Association of Vietnamese Women is a united organization with a clear-cut pattern throughout. There are also other women's or-

ganizations uniting broad sections of women and educating them in the process of study, work and struggle.

The women who work in industry and on the farms form the basis for uniting women from all sections of the population. Under socialism women's organizations are involved in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and are responsible for the proper education of women, and for inspiring them to take part in the creation and safeguarding of the people's government and to play their part in the building of socialism. Women's organizations should always take the lead in matters concerning women's work and welfare. They should make it their job to understand the needs and aspirations of women, and see that the Party and government also understand them so that the necessary measures can be taken to ensure that full use is made of women's abilities and that conditions are created for their full emancipation.

Today the women of North Vietnam are free and enjoy equal rights with men. They are full of optimism and display unflinching determination to bring the struggle for national freedom and revolutionary change to a successful conclusion.

This is due to the fact that we firmly believe in the correct policy of our Party which is leading us to victory over the US imperialists. It is also leading us in the successful building of socialism, and along the road to communism. The greater our gratitude to the Vietnamese Workers' Party and to our late greatly loved President Ho Chi Minh the more grateful we are

to Lenin, the teacher of the world proletarian revolution. Inspired with the Leninist ideas of proletarian internationalism, we are fully aware that the Vietnamese revolution is part of the world revolutionary process. The victory of the Vietnamese revolution is inseparable from the victory of the world revolution, and depends on the support of the fraternal socialist countries, the national-liberation movement, and the international communist and workers' movement. Fighting in the front ranks of the war against US imperialism, we are proud to note that the victories of the Vietnamese revolution are furthering the development of the national-liberation movement for peace and democracy and strengthening the might of the socialist community. By frustrating the schemes of the US imperialists who are out to escalate the war in Indo-China and South-East Asia, the people of Vietnam are making a substantial contribution to the defence of the socialist community and to peace all over the world.

Our Party has been able to combine the revolutionary movement in our country with the world revolutionary movement of the working class, with the struggle of the working people including the women in the imperialist countries which are waging their predatory war in Vietnam, with the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples and with the international women's movement. This has won it the sympathy and support of many friends all over the world. This creates a favourable atmosphere for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution, which in its turn has been contributing to the development and strengthening of the world revolutionary

movement. The struggle of the Vietnamese people, who enjoy the sympathy and support of the world revolutionary movement, will force the US imperialists to stop their war of aggression and withdraw all their troops and the troops of their satellites from South Vietnam, so that the Vietnamese people may control the destiny of their own country.

The Vietnamese women are completely loyal to the invincible ideas of Marxism-Leninism. They are determined to defend the correct revolutionary Leninist policy, and show their unwavering solidarity and unity with the women and all the people of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, and with the people and women of all countries fighting for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

On behalf of the women of Vietnam we send our warmest greetings and express our deepest gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government, the Soviet people and all Soviet women for their invaluable aid.

LUU THI LIEN, Member of the Executive Council of the Union of Women for the Liberation of South Vietnam

Women of South Vietnam in the Struggle Against the US Aggressors and for National Independence

We are happy that there are countries in the world where socialism has been successfully built. For our part, we have not had a day of

peace for the past twenty-five years. Replacing the French colonialists, the US imperialists in 1954 began their aggression against South Vietnam. We defeated the French colonialists in our ten-year war of resistance, but since then we have had, for many years, to fight the US aggressors.

US imperialism has launched into the war a huge military machine and engaged in action over half a million American soldiers, a half-million-strong puppet-regime army and a sixty-thousand-strong army of its satellites. It has supplied them with every kind of weapon and destructive and terrible means of modern warfare.

In South Vietnam, we are living under a reign of terror, to the thunder of bombing and shelling. We live in a land where prisons outnumber schools. We do not see any way out but armed struggle, together with the entire people, against the enemy, for the liberation of our homeland.

A Vietnamese saying goes: "When the homeland loses independence, families fall apart too." We are convinced that there can be no talking about the emancipation of women until the US aggressors are driven out and leave our land genuinely free and independent.

We are waging consistent struggle for national independence and the emancipation of women because we fully appreciate Lenin's profound ideas concerning the role of women in revolution and the great responsibility of women for the success of the struggle against imperialist aggression, feudalism and the enslavement and exploitation of women.

In their fierce battle against the aggression of

US imperialism, the most powerful and brutal enemy, the women of South Vietnam have done their utmost, and are contributing greatly to our victory and national liberation.

Our long war experience has proved that women are a great force in any kind of struggle, either political or armed, and that they play an important role in the consolidation of revolutionary power as well as in industry and the work to provide what is necessary for the front.

Quite a few political battles, which have involved tens of thousands of people, have been led by women. Sometimes only women have formed the ranks of fighters. Those battles have ended in a victory which has been of great consequence for the armed struggle at the front.

On many occasions an unarmed army of women took part in the fighting and blocked the way of the enemy carrying out punitive raids against the inhabitants of villages.

Because of its mass character and moral strength, the political army of the South Vietnamese women creates great difficulties for the enemy soldiers and keeps them in constant fear. Mothers, wives and sisters are revealing the truth about the enemy. They call upon their husbands, sons and brothers to desert the army of the puppet regime and come back home. They cause confusion in the enemy's ranks and frequently make them drop arms and surrender.

The ranks of the South Vietnamese women who are fighting the enemy are growing stronger all the time. Our women have committed acts of conspicuous gallantry and have shown unparalleled skill in organizing, consolidating and leading the people who have risen against the enemy.

The US aggressors have resorted to barbarous crimes in their efforts to halt the women's political movement. They have jailed, killed and savagely tortured thousands of our sisters.

However, the more atrocious the enemy, the more united our women have been, and the stronger has become their revolutionary spirit and their hatred for the aggressors.

In their struggle against the foreign invaders, the women of South Vietnam are keeping alive and developing the national traditions initiated by two sisters, Ching and Chieu: "When the enemy violates our home, women become soldiers." Our women have actively participated in the armed struggle and have won many victories. Nowadays there are many women in the Armed Forces and guerilla troops. Side by side with their husbands, brothers and sons, the women of South Vietnam are defending their homes, attacking the enemy, and disrupting his punitive raids.

Many women's units, such as the women's artillery platoon of the Long An province, have participated in hundreds of battles and have won great victories.

We are proud that Comrade Nguyen Thi Dinh, Chairman of the Union of Women for the Liberation of South Vietnam, is Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the National Liberation Army. Everyone has heard about the heroines of South Vietnam, Nguyen Thi Ut, Nguyen Thi Lai and many others. Some of them have given their lives to see their homeland free. Many of them remained unknown and we cannot tell you of their heroic deeds.

The women of South Vietnam are also work-

ing actively behind the frontline, tending the wounded, and also working in plants and factories which are supplying the front.

Our women are the main force in the establishment and defence of revolutionary power. They are the mainstay of agriculture, and are making their contribution to culture, education and the health service. For their services to their homeland the South Vietnamese women have been awarded the four Golden Words of their country: Heroic, Unconquered, Devoted and Capable in all spheres.

There are women ministers in the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam—for instance, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Thi Binh—and a number of deputy ministers. Today the women of South Vietnam, side by side with the men, are fighting on every front and working behind the frontline, for they always bear in mind the teachings of Lenin and our deeply-loved Ho Chi Minh: “Nothing can be of greater value than the direct participation of women in the national-liberation revolution and the struggle for their own emancipation.”

The strenuous efforts and outstanding achievements of women in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries set us a good example. They inspire us in the grim struggle against the US aggressors.

I shall tell you, as an example, about a small event that took place at the Thu Duc prison. Thousands of women and children are kept prisoner there. There are among them people who, for decades, have not seen the sun. However, their hearts filled with joy and confidence, when

they heard that Valentina Tereshkova had gone up into space. "We are sure to win," they said. They were happy to know that the first woman was carrying out a space flight. This gave them confidence that their patriotic struggle would also end in victory.

We want to express our warm gratitude to the Soviet Women's Committee which organized this symposium and gave us all the opportunity to exchange views and experience and to help one another in the important and useful work for national liberation and the emancipation of women.

The women of South Vietnam thank the Soviet women for the support they have given our struggle against the US imperialist aggression by demanding an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the US troops and the troops of America's satellites from South Vietnam.

O EN OK, representative of the Union of Democratic Women of Korea in WIDF

The Role of Korean Women in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle

By a profound analysis of imperialism—the last stage of capitalism—Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great leader of the international working class and staunch fighter against imperialism, showed that imperialism is monopolistic, parasitic, decaying and moribund capitalism. He pointed out the place of imperialism in the evo-

lution of world history and showed that its downfall was imminent. Lenin exposed the aggressive and predatory nature of imperialism—the suppressor of freedom and the cynical exploiter of peoples.

The entire experience of our country's development has confirmed the correctness of Lenin's conclusions about imperialism and has shown that only by resolute and irreconcilable anti-imperialist and anti-American struggle is it possible for us to gain and consolidate our national independence and build socialism and then communism which would give women their rightful place in our society.

Under the wise guidance of our esteemed and beloved leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung, the people of Korea crushed the Japanese aggressors and defeated US imperialism, the leader of the reactionary forces of the world.

The brave and capable Korean women made a great contribution to the successful revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The life of the women of Korea in the past was tragic. During the colonial regime of the Japanese imperialists the women of Korea suffered under the feudal yoke and were deprived of elementary human rights. They were not allowed to move freely about and were even denied the right to have their own names.

Our esteemed leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung, pointed out that violation of the rights of women means violation of the rights of everyone. Creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist teaching to the actual situation in our country, Kim Il Sung, from the very beginning of the revolutionary struggle, considered the question of wo-

men's rights to be one of the fundamental questions of the social revolution.

Our leader emphasized that the women of Korea could be emancipated and could receive genuine freedom and civil rights in all spheres of political, economic and social life only after we had done away with feudalism and colonialism. And to achieve this we had to drive out the Japanese imperialists and win our national liberation and independence.

Helping his mother, Kang Bang Sok, an ardent revolutionary and a pioneer of the women's movement who had devoted her whole life to the revolutionary transformation and revival of her motherland and to the emancipation of women, our leader promoted the setting up throughout the country of anti-Japanese women's organizations and constantly called on the women to take part in the revolutionary struggle against Japanese imperialism.

These organizations saw to the political education of women, inspiring in them a hatred of the Japanese invaders and preparing them for a determined revolutionary struggle against the landlords, capitalists and other exploiters.

It was during the fierce armed struggle against the Japanese imperialists that women's Marxist-Leninist organizations started to spread throughout the country.

These organizations were set up within guerrilla units acting inside enemy-controlled areas. Guided by Comrade Kim Il Sung's programme, they considered that their most important task was to assist the guerrilla units in every way. These included collecting intelligence information, supplying food and clothing and other vital

articles of everyday life for the fighters. They also looked after the families of the fighters who had lost their lives, helping to bring up their children to be devoted revolutionaries.

The assistance of the women's organizations and close ties with the people, made it possible for the guerrillas, deep in the forests swept by snow storms, and without organized national support or aid from outside, to carry on their stubborn fight for 15 years and emerge victorious.

In the course of the hard liberation struggle against Japanese domination, the Korean people gained extensive experience in setting up women's revolutionary organizations, in conducting political education work among the women, in supporting the revolutionary army, in bringing up children and spreading revolutionary ideas.

After the liberation the women's movement inherited the glorious traditions which had been created in the war time, and those traditions were successfully developed by the Union of Democratic Women of Korea.

During the patriotic war of liberation against the US aggressors, the women of Korea, in the course of the grim battle for the freedom and independence of their homeland, continued to develop the revolutionary traditions begun at the time of the armed struggle against the Japanese aggressors.

Ardently supporting the appeal of our loved leader—"Everything for Victory in the War!"---the women of our country played an active part in the campaign and displayed striking heroism and courage in the ranks of the People's Army.

Attacking the enemy, they advanced amid the roar of guns and exploding bombs, destroying the aggressors and attending to the wounded. Under barbarous bombardment, they replaced their husbands and sons behind the frontline, at the factories hidden underground. They organized team competitions to boost production for the front and launched the movement of "multi-machine operators" in order to meet the wartime needs of the country. In the country areas women started the "movement of plough-women," and firmly holding wooden ploughs in their hands they did their utmost to supply the front with food.

The women who lived in the frontline areas delivered ammunition and food to the battlefields and under continuous fire and shelling reconstructed roads and bridges destroyed by enemy bombs.

In the period of temporary retreat during the War of Liberation, our women, guided by Party organizations, fought heroically in the enemy-occupied areas, joined guerrilla units and actively participated in the underground struggle.

Under the guidance of our great leader, we destroyed the myth of the invincibility of the US imperialists. And this marked the beginning of our enemy's downfall.

But, instead of drawing the proper conclusions from their ignominious defeat in the Korean war, the US imperialists continued their occupation of the southern part of our homeland. They have turned it into an American colony and a base for aggression, using it as a bridgehead in their brazen attempts to relight the fires of war in Korea.

Violating the democratic freedoms and the elementary human rights of the people of South Korea, the enemy condemns them to torture, terror, murder, starvation and poverty. Under the fascist colonial rule of the US imperialists and the Park Chung Hee puppet regime, the South Korean women are subjected to intolerable racial discrimination and cruel exploitation. They endure sufferings in the fetters of inequality and political enslavement.

Totally immoral and corrupt, the American barbarians commit daily acts of murder, theft, rape and other unspeakable crimes.

For over twenty years the Korean people have been suffering from the enforced division of their land. They do not know whether their husbands, wives, parents, brothers, and sisters are alive or not. But oppression and exploitation always provoke resistance.

Patriotically-minded women in South Korea regard the northern part of the country, developing and prospering under the leadership of Kim Il Sung, as a beacon of hope. Our people persistently continue to fight against the enemy everywhere—in the underground, in the prisons and in the mountains—to bring closer the day of their homeland's unification.

Rim Neng Sook, wife of Kim Chung Tai, Chairman of the Seoul City Committee of the United Revolutionary Party, was brutally murdered by the US imperialists and President Park's puppet government. Jing Men Sook, Kim Men Sook and Song Kep Soon and other women-revolutionaries were sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. But even at their trial they exposed the enemy and are now continuing their struggle in prison.

The slogan of the women-revolutionaries of South Korea is "to live in the fight" as did the great mother of Korea, Kang Bang Sok.

The US imperialists and Park's puppet regime, alarmed by the massive anti-American struggle of the South Korean people, are intensifying their acts of repression against the women of Korea and are making use of the militarist forces in Japan against the northern part of the republic.

The aggressive actions of the spy ship, *Pueblo*, and the spy aircraft, ES-121, clearly showed the world the lengths to which the enemy has gone in his dangerous provocations.

In the face of this new danger we Korean women, closely rallying around our esteemed and beloved Comrade Kim Il Sung, are striving to further revolutionize, after the working class pattern, ourselves, our families and the entire society and we are intensifying our efforts to drive out the American imperialists and secure the independent and peaceful unification of our homeland by speeding up economic development and strengthening our defence.

Today, when the US imperialists are increasing their subversive activity against the socialist countries, we women of those countries must join our efforts in expanding the anti-imperialist and anti-American struggle and continue to deliver powerful blows at the US imperialists.

It is necessary to fight resolutely against the Japanese and West German militarists, who have reappeared under the protection of the American imperialists and who are their faithful partners.

We express our gratitude to the women of the fraternal socialist countries for their internatio-

nal solidarity with the Korean people's just struggle against American and Japanese imperialism for the independent and peaceful unification of Korea. We Korean women assure you that in the future, as in the past, we will actively support the anti-imperialist and anti-American struggle of the women of Vietnam, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic and all other socialist countries fighting against continued US imperialist aggression.

*CAROLINA AGUILAR, Member
of the National Leadership of the
Women's Federation (Cuba)*

The Role of Cuban Women in the Revolutionary and Liberation Movement

It took the Cuban people a long time to attain genuine freedom. Our freedom fighters, such as Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, who initiated the struggle in 1868, and Fidel Castro, who led it to its successful conclusion in 1959, were convinced that the only way to achieve freedom was through revolutionary struggle.

The history of this struggle at all stages, the staunchness and heroism of its participants, and the ideas originated by our struggle, are all closely associated with the life and teachings of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. These ideas call for revolutionary war, the anti-colonial war of the oppressed nations, for the forcible destruction of the

old state machinery and for the involvement of women in the struggle.

In 1916 Lenin wrote in *The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution* that Socialists had never been, and would never be, against revolutionary wars, that "women and teen-age children fought in the Paris Commune side by side with the men. It will be no different in the coming battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian women will not look on passively as poorly armed or unarmed workers are shot down by the well-armed forces of the bourgeoisie. They will take to arms as they did in 1871."

But women, Lenin said, had a more important role. They were the educators of the new generation. He asked: "How will proletarian women oppose this? Only by cursing all war and everything military, only by demanding disarmament? The women of an oppressed and really revolutionary class will never accept that shameful role. They will say to their sons: 'You will soon be grown up. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn the military art properly. The proletarians need this knowledge'."

In common with the entire people, the women of Cuba have always drawn on these ideas of Lenin's.

In 1868 the Cuban people took up arms to achieve their independence from the mother country. This struggle was highlighted by the emancipation of the slaves upheld by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, and lasted till the Cuban people won genuine independence.

The hundred years of struggle vividly demonstrated the heroism and the iron will-power of

the Cuban people. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the men in this just struggle were the Cuban women, and at every stage, from the beginning of the war in 1868, women were in the front ranks of the fighters.

Women joined men in the guerilla units, took an active part in the fighting, rendered significant help to the insurgents, undertook illegal activities at peril of their lives, and shared with the men the brunt of the struggle against the numerically stronger enemy.

The names of many of these women—*mambisas*, or participants in the 19th-century liberation wars—are forever inscribed in our history.

Speaking of the heroic independence struggle of 1868-95 I am hard put to list the names of all the women who, to a lesser or greater extent, contributed to this struggle.

Of the brave women of that epoch, the first that comes to mind is Ana Betancourt who, at the height of the insurgent struggle in 1869, raised her voice in the Legislative Assembly in Guaimaro in favour of granting civil rights to women.

The name of Ana Betancourt has a secure place in the history of our country and of the whole of America. She was the first person in our part of the world to link in her demands the women's movement and the independence movement. She supported her words with deeds. She not only demanded civil rights for women, but also fought in the insurgent ranks to bring this about. She not only demanded civil rights for her sisters, but also took an active part in the armed struggle for genuine freedom.

In 1895, the most radically-minded revolutio-

naries started war. Large numbers of working people and representatives of the lower classes joined in. By that time José Martí had already created the Cuban revolutionary party with a definite, clear-cut political programme.

The Party programme was both anti-imperialist and internationalist, since the struggle for the independence of Cuba and of Puerto Rico was involved.

The freedom won by the Cuban people at great sacrifice was ruthlessly trampled underfoot by the North American interventionists who employed force to establish their domination, first in our young republic and subsequently in other countries, with the connivance of the national bourgeoisie.

The Cuban women, even though they had distinguished themselves in the struggle for independence and thus proved they were capable of playing their part in any sphere, failed in their attempts to abolish discrimination against them in the first years of the republic. Half a century passed before they achieved complete emancipation, and much blood was shed along this lengthy path.

The Constitution of 1901 introduced nothing new regarding the women. There was not a hint of improving the social status of women, as the Constitution, in actual fact, merely duplicated all the articles in the Spanish code.

The emergence of the world-wide women's movement in the early century had a great impact on Cuba, too. The First World War and the victorious October Revolution gave impetus to the women's movement in our country. Feminist organizations began to spring

up, advocating mainly women's suffrage. Those demands revealed their partial understanding of the aims of the struggle, but without connecting the question of women's rights with the country's other social and political problems.

The October Revolution was an event of exceptional historical importance, the world's first victory of socialism. Its influence was felt far beyond the boundaries of the country where it took place and even beyond the shores of Europe. Overcoming distance, it reached the American continent, specifically Cuba, a tiny island of the Antilles.

The revolution also showed that Marxist theory, impregnated with the ideas of that brilliant thinker, Lenin, could be translated into life and triumph even in one of the most backward European countries of that time. This was Lenin's major contribution to Marxism. Revolutionary ideas conquer prejudices and obstacles, overcome distance and time, and find their way to the heart and mind of every upright and honest man.

Thus, in the twenties, the ideas of the founder of the first socialist state found response among our workers, students and professional people.

The year 1923 saw the establishment of the first Marxist-Leninist groups as a result of the reverberating effect produced on Cuba by the victorious October Revolution led by Lenin.

Julio Antonio Mella, the recognized leader of the Cuban students—representatives of the younger revolutionary generation—and Carlos Balino, an experienced fighter and veteran participant in the wars of independence, and loyal associate of José Martí, in the autumn of 1925,

founded the Communist Party of Cuba which espoused the ideas of socialist revolution, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

This gave an impetus to the struggle for equal rights of the women of Cuba, particularly workers and students. New women's associations were organized, some of which concentrated on enlisting women workers for the struggle for "equal pay for equal work." The programmes of such associations had a more radical colouring and injected new ideas into the women's movement. These ideas went far beyond the framework of the feminist movement, proclaiming class slogans as their goals.

In the following years the part which women played in the struggle increased. At this time the women's movement merged with the nationwide struggle against the dictatorship of President Machado. Many women were arrested, tortured and tried, but they were not daunted by threats or danger.

In 1934, the Communist Party of Cuba set up the National Women's Union.

Following the overthrow of the Machado dictatorship in 1933, women were granted their suffrage rights and the Mother Protection Law concerning working women was promulgated.

But it was not until 1940, when a new Constitution was proclaimed, that women gained some of the civil rights. Discrimination on account of sex was abolished, married women were entitled to all civil rights, including election rights, and the Mother Protection Law adopted in 1934 was endorsed.

Despite this, during the next nineteen grim years Cuban women were the victims of law

infringement and injustice, for the rights they had won with their own blood, did not materialize. The country was in the grip of prejudices, law existing only on paper.

The nature of the political regime affected all aspects of life. Nearly all the men and women found themselves victims of the oligarchic governments that were wholly subordinated to their foreign masters—the American imperialists.

The position of the Cuban people at that time—poverty, starvation and humiliation—was aptly described by the young lawyer, Fidel Castro, in his famous speech at the trial when he was charged with taking part in the Moncada assault. This document came to be known under the title “History Will Absolve Me.”

In that speech Fidel posed the major problems to be tackled most energetically. He said: “The problems concerning land, the problem of industrialization, the problem of housing, the problem of unemployment, the problem of education and the problem of the health of the people; these are the six problems we would take immediate steps to resolve, along with the restoration of public liberties and political democracy.”

After describing the dire straits of the Cuban people who were most brutally oppressed, Fidel Castro continued: “The future of the country and the solution of its problems cannot continue to depend on the selfish interests of a dozen financiers....

“The problem of the Republic can be solved only if we dedicate ourselves to fight for that

Republic with the same energy, honesty and patriotism that our liberators had when they created it."

It is easy to picture the tragic position of women at that time, living under the yoke of dual oppression—sex and class. The position of the Negro women was still harder as was that of the peasant women who were harshly treated by the landowners. Poverty, eviction from the land, unemployment, and starvation were the common picture.

The women were entangled in the web of prejudices and this prevented them from engaging in creative activity. They were oppressed, had absolutely no rights at all and suffered from hunger, poverty and ignorance more than the population as a whole.

Women could engage in very few occupations. In 1953, women accounted for a mere 9.8 per cent of the gainfully employed population. Their chief occupation was domestic service. Some 70,000 women were employed in that way, all getting meagre wages.

On March 10, 1952, ex-sergeant Fuljencio Batista, a tool of the imperialists, made another coup d'état. The situation in the country deteriorated, which led to the storming of the Moncada barracks.

After July 26, 1953, the day when Moncada was taken by storm, dictator Batista realized that a revolutionary organization was in the making, whose programme of action was defined by one word—Revolution. He embarked on a policy of increasing the exploitation of the people which further aggravated the situation in the country.

The Batista government was largely responsible for Cuba having become a so-called tourist centre, a playground of the wealthy Americans, where vice, gambling, narcotics were prevalent. A large number of casinos were opened, prostitution skyrocketed and depravity and corruption swept society, mainly at the upper level.

Brutal torture, wide-scale slaughter and mass eviction from the land, coupled with the persecution of workers and students, were added to the starvation, poverty, over-population, prostitution, ignorance, illiteracy and high death-rate all of which had characterized our country for so long.

All sections of society were most cruelly persecuted. Led by the guerillas of Sierra Maestra and the organizers of the underground struggle in the towns, the people embarked on the road of revolutionary struggle as the only means of achieving genuine freedom and better conditions.

Again the women stood side by side with the men, in the front ranks of the struggle as they did while upholding their country's national sovereignty.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the part played by women in the guerilla movement, from its outset.

Prior to the *Granma* landing, Celia Sanchez helped with the transportation of participants in the march to Sierra Maestra. She met the guerillas, fought with them in the first and the hardest battles, accompanied them to the mountains and remained among them until the victory of the revolution, being the right hand and the loyal associate of the commander-in-chief.

Women occupied leading posts in units fighting in Sierra Maestra and in the underground. They threw themselves unreservedly into struggle, right from the time of Fidel's landing in Sierra Maestra, and through the Santiago de Cuba popular uprising of November 30, led by Frank País.

Vilma Espin (now President of the Cuban Women's Federation), together with Frank País, launched the "November 30" march. Later she was an organizer of the "July 26 Movement" in Oriente province, and then joined the Frank País Army of Insurrection, on the Second Eastern Front.

Haydee Santamaría worked with the underground, then joined the guerillas and after that left the country on Fidel's instructions and carried out important assignments as a representative of the "July 26 Movement".

Vast numbers of women committed themselves to underground activities right from the start. They acted as messengers between Sierra and the rest of the island and were constantly risking their lives.

Women were equal to all the difficult assignments given by the underground command. They undertook sabotage operations, disseminated the ideas of the revolution, helped to transport the wounded and weapons, and staged demonstrations.

Many gave their lives.

The active part played by women in the struggle for freedom, which culminated in the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959, steeled their will-power, developed their political consciousness and prepared them for a new stage of

the struggle—the stage of the building of socialism.

Without the wealth of experience which the women of Cuba gained by taking part in the struggle for freedom, they would not have been as active in the new revolutionary process, in which they have an important role—translating into reality Lenin's words that the victory of a revolution depends on the degree of women's participation.

*JANINA BALCEŽAK, Director of
the Museum of the Polish Revolutionary Movement*

The Role of the Polish Women in the Revolutionary and Liberation Movement

Lenin, who further elaborated the Marxist idea of the revolution both in theory and practice, clearly saw the great potential force of women en masse and showed how this potential force could be turned into an actual one. Lenin pointed out that the programmes of genuine revolutionary communist movements should envisage the use of this force.

The situation in Poland showed the profound truth of this proposition of Lenin's. The exploited and oppressed Polish people saw their primary task in the liberation of their motherland from the foreign yoke, and waged a national liberation struggle against the foreign invaders.

That is why in the conditions prevailing in Poland the question of women's rights was first of all the question of independent statehood for Poland. This was well understood by progressive-minded Polish women who took part in the national liberation uprisings of 1794, 1830, 1846, 1848 and 1863. They worked as messengers, couriers and nurses, distributed printed material, organized hospitals and medical supplies, collected money to buy munition and clothing, dug trenches and shelters, and even took an active part in the fighting.

Women were the most active participants of the national liberation struggle whose programme included demands for progressive social changes. The women-participants of the 1863 uprising in Poland later fought at the barricades of the Paris Commune. This struggle of the Polish women in foreign lands, and the participation of Monika Dmitrieva and Anastasiya Marueva, Russian revolutionaries, in the 1863 Polish uprising, are symbols of internationalism.

At the time when Poland was under the foreign yoke, the question of women's rights was an integral part of the national and social problem. This was best of all understood by the "Proletaria" Party organized by Ludwik Warynski. Their Brussels Programme included the demand for the social equality of all citizens irrespective of sex, race or nationality. The year of 1878 saw the organization of the first socialist women's circle by Filipina Plaskowicka.

The participants in the Polish revolutionary movement of the late 19th century included women workers besides intellectuals.

Both Parties formed at the period—the Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, and the Polish Socialist Party—engaged in a political and organizational work among women.

During the general strike in solidarity with the Russian workers in January, 1905, an Appeal to All Working Women was published calling them to fight under the banner of socialism. In May-June, 1905, the workers of the Dambrowa coal basin, Bialystok, Lublin, Kielce, Zyrardow and Warsaw joined in the fight of the workers of Lodz and neighbouring towns. Many women-workers perished in this fight.

Polish women engaged in active anti-tsarist propaganda work among the Russian soldiers stationed in Poland. They published the *Soldatskij Listok* newspaper. In 1905, there were 99 revolts in the military formations registered by tsarist officials. For their part in such activities and in the armed struggle, over a hundred women were brought to trial in Warsaw and Lodz.

The authority of women-revolutionaries was growing among the Polish socialists who greatly sympathized with the struggle of women for equality. Rosa Luxemburg, the well-known member of the international revolutionary movement, helped to organize the Social-Democratic Party in the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, and the participants of the working-class movement in Poland cherished the name of Cezaryna Wojsnarska. Among leaders of the Left Polish Socialist Party were Maria Koszutska and Golde-Strozecka.

In 1913, the underground League of Women was organized which united within its ranks all the progressive-minded women of the Polish Kingdom.

The International Women's Socialist Conference, held in 1915 in Berne on the initiative of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, was attended by representatives from Poland, who supported N. Krupskaya and I. Armand who resolutely opposed imperialist wars. At this Conference two opinions on attitudes towards war and the International, and the differing tactics of two proletarian parties, clashed. Although the Conference did not demand that the imperialist war should be turned into a civil war for the overthrow of a capitalist government, it still contributed to the development of the women's anti-war movement.

The 1917 February Revolution in Russia found a great response in the Polish socialist women's movement. In September of the same year an All-Poland Congress of Women was convened in Warsaw. Its task was to elaborate the methods of struggle for the complete equality of women in a future independent Polish state. The example of revolutionary Russia, where the Great October Socialist Revolution had taken place, the example of the Bolshevik Party waging a consistent struggle for the equality and emancipation of women, could not fail to have a tremendous effect on the Polish political and public leaders, especially after Russia had proclaimed the complete independence of Poland, annulled the division of Poland and given back to her all the wealth and cultural treasures which tzarist

Russia had taken from the Polish people.

In January, 1918, the Central Political Committee for the Equality of Women was established in Warsaw, with branches in many localities. The Committee considered that its main tasks lay in the formation of public opinion on the question of the vote for women. Demonstrations of women demanding the vote were held throughout the year.

In November, 1918, the reactionary government of the Polish Regency Council was overthrown. The socialist and peasant parties formed a provisional people's government of the Polish Republic in Lublin. Under the pressure of the people this government was forced to proclaim the equality of all citizens irrespective of their origin, religious belief, sex or nationality. These rights were endorsed by the Constitution of Poland adopted in March, 1921.

The Elective Committee of Progressive Women was substituted for the former Central Committee of the Political Equality of Women. It called upon all women to vote for the candidates of the left-wing parties.

During the years when Poland was independent various women's organizations and unions existed—those supporting the government or neutral to it, alongside those opposing the government. The activity of these organizations, however, could not serve as a broad basis for the revolutionary socialist movement. Polish women-socialists and Communists united into women sections and circles within the framework of their parties. After 1919 the Polish Socialist Party had an elective Central Women's Department

which published the newspaper, *Glos Kobiet* (*Woman's Voice*), and the bulletin *Socjalistka*.

Alongside the women's movement organized by the Polish Socialist Party which operated legally, the women's communist movement headed by the Polish Communist Party was gaining scope.

Attached to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland since 1923, was the Central Women's Section which had its affiliated organizations in local areas.

The 1927 Congress of the Communist Party of Poland issued recommendations to form free women's groups whose task would be to educate women for joining the Party. The Congress also advised that cultural-educational sections for women be set up under trade unions and that women be drawn into leading trade-union bodies, into the committees and delegations at enterprises and into the commissions of specialists.

All the Party members as well as the members of the Women's Section took part in the work among women. Polish women-Communists never confined themselves to the question of women's rights alone but took part in the work of the Party as a whole, organizing workers' meetings and demonstrations, working in various Party bodies at all levels, and working as members of central and local leading Party bodies, etc.

The most prominent figure in the Polish communist movement is Maria Koszutska, also known as Wera Kostrzewska, who symbolizes the great contribution made by Polish women in disseminating the ideas of communism. She had

profound knowledge and experience, was well acquainted with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and knew how to apply them in Polish conditions. Our communist movement owes her a lot. Wera Kostrzewska proved the grandeur of the cause to which she dedicated her life by her devotion to communist ideals and by her entire life itself.

In early 1939 the most urgent question on the agenda was the struggle against fascist Germany. The Polish Government did not want to take the side of the Soviet Union, though this was the only choice which was in Poland's interests. But the hatred of the Polish capitalist class for the USSR appeared to be stronger than their concern for the good of Poland, which stood to gain from the union with the USSR. The Polish people resorted to arms and women took part in the September battles against the fascists fighting side by side with soldiers in trenches and on the barricades. Afterwards they joined the ranks of the underground fighters, organized sabotage at enterprises, worked as teachers in underground educational establishments in other countries fighting against fascism, joined the regular army units and partisan detachments. During the years of fascist occupation of our country Polish women worked in underground editorial offices and printing-shops, made arms, took part in guerrilla warfare, gathered intelligence data, organized a medical service, took part in diversions and attempts to murder fascist war criminals, helped to deliver people and literature across the frontier, and worked at radio centres. Women helped Jews and prisoners in the concentration camps. When the fascists managed to cap-

ture some of these courageous women, they did not betray their comrades even under torture but died without saying a word.

Under the conditions of war and fascist occupation, the Polish Workers' Party—the successor of the Communist Party of Poland—worked out the only correct Leninist programme of struggle for national and social liberation. In this programme the Party turned to the working people.

The Party gathered under its banners every person ready for action against fascism—men, women, young people. It called upon the people to consolidate unity and friendship with the Soviet peoples, for it saw in the Soviet Union a genuine comrade in the struggle for the liberation of their motherland.

The dedicated work of women greatly contributed to the successes of the Party, but the years of fascist terror took a heavy toll of human life. Each day of the nazi occupation took some 3,000 human lives. Communists were subjected to especially cruel persecution. But in spite of the terror, in spite of the terrible death meted out to many Party activists, the Party consolidated its ranks in the fight against the fascist invaders.

I would like to list the names of some of the outstanding Party members whose memory lives on in history, songs and literature. Małgorzata Fornalska, a member of the Communist Party of Poland, one of the organizers of the Polish Workers' Party and a member of the Central Committee. She was shot by the Gestapo who had failed to break her spirit in spite

of monstrous tortures. Hanna Szapiro-Sawicka, an organizer of the youth movement, died fighting; Ann Wolf, a doctor, an organizer of the Gwardia Ludowa medical service in the Kielce Region, was killed in a guerrilla attack; Waclawa Marek, a member of the Communist Party of Poland, the Communist Party of Western Ukraine and the Polish Workers' Party, fought in guerrilla detachments in the vicinity of Lublin, and died a soldier's death; Janina Krajewska, a member of the Polish Workers' Party, a doctor of the Gwardia Ludowa medical service in the Siedlce Region, died in battle; Wanda Zielencyk, a member of the Polish Workers' Party, youth organizer and poet, was shot by the Gestapo; Barbara Nalewajko, a member of the Walka Młodych Union, was shot; Halina Okonska, a member of the Walka Młodych Union, was arrested and sent to Oswiecim where she perished; Lucyna Herc, an officer of the 1st Army of the Wojsko Polskie, was killed in the battle on the Vistula in 1944; Eleonora Kranc, a member of the Walka Młodych Union was engaged in distributing illegal publications ; she was a soldier of the Gwardia Ludowa and was killed during the uprising in Warsaw; Hanna Kazalowna, a member of the Polish Workers' Party, soldier of the Gwardia Ludowa, perished during the revolt; Katarzyna Jaroszewicz, Secretary of the Walka Młodych Union in Warsaw, perished during the crossing of the Vistula in 1944; Aneila Krzywón, a member of a women's battalion, died in battle helping wounded soldiers. The Soviet Government awarded her the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. Wanda Chledowska, engaged in signal and intelligence work in one of the detachments

of Gwardia Ludowa in the Krakow Province was killed by the Gestapo, Leonora Chardzina, a signal-woman of the Dambrowa Region was arrested and perished in Oswiecim. Hundreds of thousands of people took part in the Polish liberation movement and the nazis, in spite of their rule of terror in Poland, felt as if they were on the brink of a volcano.

In June, 1944, the people of our liberated country took power into their hands. The people's power proclaimed the freedom of all political and professional organizations and the equality of all citizens irrespective of race, religious belief or nationality. It also solemnly proclaimed the lasting, indissoluble union with our neighbours—the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia — to be the basis of the Poland's foreign policy and declared that the Polish soldier would fight shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet soldier until the complete rout of fascism.

World imperialism, which is unleashing wars in various parts of the globe, is incapable of undermining the political consciousness of the peoples inspired by the ideas of Leninism.

Our people have the glorious traditions of national liberation and revolutionary struggle behind them. The heroic women who gave their lives for the cause of revolution should serve as an example for the young builders of our socialist motherland.

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The Influence of Lenin's Teaching on the Development of the Women's Revolutionary Movement in Bulgaria

The question of women's rights arose in Bulgaria when the country, liberated from the five hundred years of the Ottoman yoke, embarked on the capitalist way of development which involved an increasing number of women-workers in production.

Dimitr Blagoev, the founder of scientific socialism in Bulgaria, and his wife Vela were the first to give a correct analysis of the question. They revealed the class nature of the struggle for women's rights and put forward the demand for the complete economic and political equality of women.

Nekrasov's poem *The Russian Women* and, particularly, August Bebel's book, *Women and Socialism*, published in the country in 1885 and 1893 respectively, greatly influenced the Bulgarian women's movement.

The young Bulgarian Social-Democrats rightly treated the question of women's emancipation as part of the question of establishing the rights of workers as a whole, a matter that could be satisfactorily settled only by the victory of socialism. They did much for the class education of prole-

tarian women and for their orientation towards socialism.

In 1905, with the assistance of the Bulgarian Marxists, the first conference of the Bulgarian women Social-Democrats was convened. This meeting promoted the setting up of women's educational groups within the Marxist Party units, thus serving the struggle against philistinism, prejudice, superstition and the centuries-old neglect of women.

As a result of these activities the women of Bulgaria were drawn into the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat. They went on strike, fought for worker's rights, took part in May 1 and the International Women's Day celebrations, worked in trade-union organizations and joined in the political activities of election campaigns.

The year 1914 saw the formation of a women's socialist organization within the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party, after which the women's socialist movement in Bulgaria established contact with the Women's Social-Democratic International and joined it. The women socialists of Bulgaria joined the struggle against Bulgaria's participation in the First World War, unmasked the anti-national policy of the ruling capitalist class and supported the all-Balkan campaign for peace and co-operation in the Balkans.

It was at this time that the Bulgarian women socialists and the Russian women Bolsheviks established close ties. The Initiative Committee of the *Rabotnitza* (Woman-worker) magazine set up on Lenin's suggestion, invited the Bulgarian women socialists to participate in the Berne International Women's Socialist Conference on War and Peace. In their letter of reply the Bul-

garian Central Women's Commission expressed their willingness to support the Bolsheviks' peace policy and their struggle against social-chauvinist treachery.

The ultimate turning of the Bulgarian women Marxists and the whole women's revolutionary movement in the country towards Lenin and his ideas occurred during the preparation and carrying out of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Bulgarian Marxist Party took part in the establishment of the Third Communist International in March, 1919. And in the month of May the Party assumed the name of the Bulgarian Communist Party which fully adopted the Leninist line.

This had a decisive influence on the development of the revolutionary movement in the country. As a result of the Party's intensive political activities among the working people, and the publication and wide distribution of Lenin's works, the revolutionary forces in Bulgaria saw clear-cut objectives in their struggle for the overthrow of capitalist rule and the seizure of political power.

Lenin's teaching and the Great October Socialist Revolution helped the Bulgarian women to see clearly their role in the proletarian revolution and the building of communism. Women Communists in Bulgaria were untiring in their efforts to make known to the people the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Soviet Government's first decrees. They took an active part in the anti-war movement in Bulgaria.

In 1917-18 they organized numerous women's

protests against the war and capitalist exploitation.

In Lenin the Bulgarian women's communist movement saw a great fighter for women's equality and emancipation.

Leninism and the practical example of the world's first socialist state gave a great impetus to the development of the women's revolutionary movement in Bulgaria. By the end of 1921 the Bulgarian Communist Party, the trade union organizations, and women's educational groups led by the Party affiliated over 10,000 women. Led by the Communist Party, the Bulgarian women participated in every political battle of the people and were most active in every sphere of the struggle.

When, on June 9, 1923, the fascist regime took over power in Bulgaria, men and women in certain parts of the country took up arms against the usurpers. In September, 1923, in the people's first uprising against the fascist dictatorship for the establishment of the workers' and peasants' power, the women fought side by side with the men. Hundreds of women acted as messengers and nurses, and also provided the insurgent units with food and ammunition. One can still hear wonderful stories about their heroic deeds.

Although it was defeated, the September uprising clearly showed that the Bulgarian people violently rejected fascism. Thousands of women were thrown then into prison and subjected to medieval torture, hundreds were court-martialled for their participation in the uprising or their sympathy towards it. But their determination to win was not conquered.

Responding to the Communist Party appeal,

the Bulgarian women took part in the preparations for another armed uprising. Risking their lives, many of them helped the guerrilla units formed in 1924-25. Women worked efficiently in the Party's military organization and strove to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, fully convinced of the validity of Lenin's teaching concerning the necessity of an alliance between the peasantry and the proletariat.

A great number of women—ardent revolutionaries and fighters for liberation from capitalist oppression—perished in 1925 when the reactionary forces broke loose. Anna Maimunkova, an outstanding leader of the women's movement, and Yelena Gicheva, a distinguished revolutionary and a participant in the September uprising, were burned alive by the police. Vela Piskova, Secretary of the underground Rusa Region Communist Party Committee and member of the Rusa military organization, Mariola Sirakova and many other participants in the June uprising were killed in a fight with the police.

The 7th Congress of the Comintern stirred the women to greater activity in their efforts to form a popular front against fascism and war.

In the years of the Second World War the Bulgarian women once again showed exceptional courage. They strongly supported the call of the Bulgarian Communist Party for armed struggle to drive out the nazi invaders, overthrow the criminal fascist dictatorship and set up a people's democracy. As early as 1941 women started joining militant groups, to kill the nazis and the Bulgarian traitors who collaborated with them, and to destroy enemy's communication lines and materiel. Women were also active in

setting up revolutionary organizations inside the army which was a very difficult and risky affair.

On July 17, 1942, an underground transmitter broadcast the Programme of the Patriotic Front elaborated on Georgi Dimitrov's initiative by the Party's Political Bureau abroad. The women activists spared no effort to unite all the democratic and patriotic forces under the banner of the Patriotic Front. The task of organizing the Patriotic Front on a nation-wide scale was assigned to Tsola Dragoicheva, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. This outstanding revolutionary, sentenced to death in her absence, succeeded in organizing an active group which worked hard to bring home to every section of the Bulgarian population the democratic programme of the Patriotic Front.

Another activist, Vylka Goranova, Secretary of a district Party committee and member of a regional Party committee, made a notable contribution to the setting up of the Patriotic Front committees in Sofia and the publishing of *Patriot*, the newspaper of the Patriotic Front Committee. Sovka Jordanova participated in publishing the newspaper *Otechestvennyi Front*, and Savka Bogdanova, a member of the regional Party Committee in Plovdiv, played an important part in organizational work.

Many women with rich experience in revolutionary activities took part in setting up the urban, rural, factory and office committees of the Patriotic Front.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Patriotic Front, thousands of women rose to defend the Jewish minority in Bulgaria.

Seeing the important part being played by women in the people's liberation movement, the Communist Party paid special attention to drawing them into the Patriotic Front committees. The Patriotic Front National Committee organized a special commission to conduct activities among women.

Women were the initiators of many undertakings in the countryside. They concealed food, refused to pay taxes, and drove away commands which were confiscating food for the nazis. They also took part in guerilla actions, supplied arms and clothing to partisans, attended the sick and wounded, engaged in subversive activities, distributed leaflets, campaigned against the invaders, and kept up the people's faith in the inevitable victory of the Soviet Union.

Ordinary peasant women, often illiterate, housewives, women workers and intellectuals risked their lives and the lives of their families in their efforts to bring about the fall of fascism.

Dozens of young women joined the guerrillas to fight for the freedom of their people and the victory of socialism. Leaving their children behind, young mothers joined the partisan detachments; and many women followed their husbands, sons and daughters. They followed the example of their Soviet sisters who inspired them by their heroism and love for their homeland.

Women displayed unprecedented heroism in the struggle and many met death fearlessly, with a sense of fulfilled duty. For example, the nazis hanged Mara Taseva, Secretary of the Popovsk Party Committee. Other outstanding patriots were killed in the action. These included Jordanka Nikolova, Member of the Communist Party

Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Young Workers' League; Lilyana Dimitrova, Member of the Central Committee of the Young Workers' League; Zhechka Karamfilova, Political Commissar of a partisan detachment; Vela Peyeva, a partisan; Yana Lyskova and Mara Petlyakova.

The Bulgarian people cherish the memory of their national heroines, who perished in the struggle. They will always remain for us a vivid example of patriotism. Georgi Dimitrov, speaking to the Plenum of the Bulgarian Women's National Union held in August, 1946, said: "I should like to publicly express our gratitude to the Bulgarian women for their great part in the historic victory of September 9."

That was a true recognition of the role of women in the revolutionary struggle—the role first recognized by Lenin and translated into reality by the exploits of the women of Bulgaria.

MARIA MARTINOVICH, Deputy Head of the Department of Science and Educational Establishments of the Minsk Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

The Part Played by the Women of Byelorussia in the Great Patriotic War

The women of Byelorussia fulfilled with honour Lenin's behests regarding the defence of the socialist motherland by the part they play-

ed in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945.

Due to its location on the western borders of the country Byelorussia was among the first to suffer from the attacks of the nazi invaders.

It is noteworthy that the war showed from the very start the great unity of the Party, the people and the Army.

Women displayed unprecedented courage under fire and behind the enemy's lines. War chronicles have preserved many of the heroic feats performed by Soviet women, including the women of Byelorussia.

The world remembers with awe the great courage displayed by the defenders of the Brest fortress. Steel melted before them, bricks became encrusted with glass and the very earth was ablaze from the hurricane fire of the enemy, yet the will of the Soviet people became still stronger.

Many women took part in the defence of the Brest fortress. Among them were Katherina Tarasyuk, Zenkina, Shablovskaya, Lyubachko, Andreyeva, who fought among the defenders of the fortress celebrated Victory Day in Berlin. Their exploits are preserved in exhibits and documents in the fortress museum.

Those women of Byelorussia who remained in the war-ridden areas dug trenches, built defensive works, defended their native towns and cities in the ranks of the people's volunteer corps, sheltered and nursed the wounded, and helped soldiers who had broken out of the enemy encirclement and escaped war prisoners.

There is a woman in Polotsk whose life has

become a legend. She is Zinaida Tusnolobova-Marchenko, Hero of the Soviet Union, formerly a sergeant-major of the medical corps, who saved the lives of 123 men. Near Kursk when Zina, already wounded, was making her way through a hail of enemy fire to save her wounded commander, she received shell-splinter wounds in both her legs. Zina was found later by Soviet scouts, unconscious and with frost-bitten arms and legs. Then began the long struggle to save Zina's life. She went through eight operations, and lost much of the use of her arms and legs, but she retained her qualities of a fighter.

Zina receives letters from abroad, she is visited by delegations of Young Pioneers and young people. She often speaks over the radio and writes in defence of peace. Her appeals meet with a wide response. A teacher from the German town of Halle wrote to Zina: "We young people of new Democratic Germany will be even more persistent, more courageous in our struggle for peace, so that your son, my children and the peoples of all countries will never again go through the horrors of war."

The flame of partisan warfare was kindled in the very first days that the nazi invaders set foot in Byelorussia. The patriotic movement was organized by the Communist Party.

In its appeal to the people the Party outlined the programme of struggle and called upon them not to give the enemy a moment's peace. Underground groups, organizations and detachments were set up in the occupied areas.

During the war 1,108 partisan detachments

operated in Byelorussia. Women were active in every one of them. Many women headed underground Party and Komsomol committees, and became commanders and commissars of partisan formations and groups.

In the enemy-occupied lands the Soviet people remained true to Leninist ideals, retaining a firm belief in victory. They employed the most diverse means and methods of struggle. Communists and non-Party people, Komsomol members and Pioneers, atheists and the religious, old and young, people of different nationalities and diverse occupations—their burning hate for the nazi invaders spurred them to resolute action. Their struggle was headed by Party and Komsomol organizations.

The life of the partisans was full of danger and privation. But even in those conditions women worked as scouts and mine layers, machine-gunners and medical workers. They displayed great conscientiousness and bravery in all their efforts.

For three long years Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, was occupied by the nazis. It was the site of their headquarters and intelligence centres. For three years Soviet patriots were executed in the squares of the city. But for all this time the people refused to succumb to the enemy.

More than 70,000 women were enrolled in partisan formations and underground organizations of Byelorussia. An even greater number took part in active partisan warfare. They helped provide the partisan detachments with food and clothing, sheltered the partisans and war pris-

ners and sabotaged the undertakings of the occupationists. Fedora Khrabraya, a collective farmer, and mother of ten children, six of whose sons fought in the war, said: "I helped the partisans. I did what I could for the boys who were just like my own. I wanted to do something to help our soldiers come quicker."

In the occupied areas the people cherished everything that reminded them of their recent life in Soviet years. They preserved Lenin's works and his portraits, books of Soviet writers, school text-books and newspapers, Young Pioneer ties and red banners, although they knew that this might cost them their lives.

The fascists inflicted terrible wounds on the land of Byelorussia: one-fourth of the population was killed, 209 towns were destroyed, and more than 9,000 villages and settlements lay in ruins.

The world knows of Oradour and Lidice. It must also remember the 136 villages which the nazis burned down together with their inhabitants. The sites of these villages have not been resettled. A monument to the murdered victims stands in Khatyn.

We shall never forget the Polish, Hungarian and Czech patriots and the German anti-fascists who fought in our ranks against the nazis.

Byelorussian women who managed to escape from the nazi death camps joined the ranks of the French Resistance and the partisan movement in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

All Soviet women know the meaning of war.

We understand you well enough, our dear friends from heroic Vietnam, and send you our support, our love and our friendship. We are confident that with the help of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all the peace-loving forces the people of Vietnam will be victorious.

We wrathfully denounce the aggression of Israel, backed by the imperialist forces, against the Arab peoples.

We will pool all our efforts for collective security in Europe, so that neo-fascism and the revanchist forces will not be able to plunge the world into the abyss of a third world war.

We call upon the women of all the socialist countries, and all progressive-minded women throughout the world to enhance their struggle for peace. The call of those who perished in the firing of their villages to those who are now living should be heard by all: "Dear friends, remember that we loved life and our motherland, that we loved you. We were burned alive. This is our request to all: let sorrow and grief turn into courage and strength, so that you may establish a lasting peace on earth, so that never again may life be extinguished in the holocaust of war!"

These words are inscribed on the blocks of the Khatyn memorial in Byelorussia. Let them ring together with the appeal of the glorious son of Czechoslovakia, Julius Fucik, "People, be vigilant!"

*MIRA MIHEVIC, historian and
treasurer of the museum in Ljubljana (SFRY)*

The Part Played by Yugoslav Women in the Revolutionary and Liberation Movement

The cause of Lenin, who had translated into reality the theoretical propositions of scientific socialism worked out by Marx and Engels, had a tremendous effect on our revolutionary movement. Lenin's theory and revolutionary activity have always been and continue to be the scientific foundation of Yugoslavia's revolutionary development. The Communists of Yugoslavia, basing themselves on Lenin's theoretical works, have made their contribution with their revolutionary activity to the cause of realizing the great revolutionary ideas of Lenin.

The Communists of Yugoslavia have creatively applied the Leninist theory of revolution, and Lenin taught us that revolution is the creative endeavour of the people, the work of an organized class. In their revolutionary activity the Communists of Yugoslavia have always adhered to the Leninist proposition that a successful and victorious revolutionary struggle of the proletariat is impossible without the co-operation of all working women.

Our Party was aware of the great strategic value of the participation of women in the struggle for man's liberation. The Party also stressed the Leninist thesis that woman can win her free-

dom only through direct participation in the working-class struggle.

Since its Constituent Congress the programme of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has always envisaged the struggle for the political and social equality of women.

Since 1918, the year of the formation of Yugoslavia, Yugoslav women have actively participated in the working-class struggle, in the class battles that resulted from Yugoslavia's unsolved social and national problems. These battles were greatly influenced by the October Revolution. Taking part in them were many women—workers, peasants, students, teachers and intellectuals. The revolutionary activity of women was directed by the Communist Party. Women Communists carried out work among the Yugoslav women, especially after the Dictatorship of January 6, when the Communist Party was forced to go underground. They engaged in political education of women within women's organizations. In this way the country's women developed a political consciousness. In the period of economic crisis, especially after 1925, women began to come forward in an increasingly organized way to protest against high prices, unemployment, and all abuses on the part of the employers.

The role of women in these working-class manifestations was so significant that, in 1928, the 4th Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia stressed the importance of the women's movement as a powerful factor in the struggle, and pointed to the necessity of maintaining the revolutionary activity of women by sending the most capable Communists to work in women's

organizations. Thus, women cadres were trained with the direct assistance of the Party. This was of especially great importance in the years that followed—in the period of the growth of the fascist movement and the danger of war.

In the early 1930's the Communist Party of Yugoslavia proposed the formation of a Popular Front uniting the broad masses of the people in the struggle for democracy against the fascist-oriented government; the Communist Party also advocated the establishment of friendly ties with the Soviet Union.

This was a period of great difficulties for the working class; the employers ignored even those minimum rights of the working people that existed, unemployment was mounting, and the government relentlessly persecuted all fighters for working-class rights. Women were not spared either; they were arrested, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and hard labour. But all these measures failed to suppress the revolutionary activities of the working women. They were indignant over the disgraceful working conditions in the factories, the low wages, and the inhuman attitude of the employers, and took part in the strikes, which became increasingly frequent after 1932 and reached a peak in 1935-36, when a big strike of textile workers was held. The organizers of this strike were mostly women.

The appearance of Josef Broz-Tito at the head of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1937 signified the beginning of a new period not only for the Party as a whole but for the women's movement as well. Comrade Tito saw in the women's organization a militant comrade-in-arms,

and attached great importance to the work among women. Special commissions for the work among women were organized at the time under the guidance of the Party Central Committee and under national Party bodies. Under the Party leadership progressive women's organizations found new ways of drawing women in the struggle against the reactionary forces backing the existing regime.

The struggle for the right to vote attracted a great number of women, especially in 1939, and turned into a broad manifestation against fascism and war, a movement for peace, democracy and progress. The 1940 5th Regional Conference of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia devoted the major part of its time to the question of women's emancipation. Vida Tomsic addressed the Conference with a detailed report containing a wealth of information from various parts of the country, which testified to the great enthusiasm of the Party members in solving this question. The report was based on Lenin's thesis that the proletariat is incapable of winning complete freedom for himself without winning complete freedom for women. The report also dealt with the theory of the emancipation of women as a component part of the proletarian revolution. The report stressed that the people's illusion that the question of women's rights could be solved within the framework of bourgeois society by means of reforms, should be dispelled. The report also pointed out that the demands of women should be included in the programme of the working-class struggle. These demands boiled down to the following: mother-and-child care, the struggle against the dual morality that

existed in public and private life, and economic and political rights for women.

The unity of the people hammered out by the Communist Party was further consolidated after the fascist invasion in the spring of 1941. The Party call for the uprising met with a ready response from the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Lenin taught that before launching the revolution the Party must thoroughly analyze the situation to determine whether the conditions were ripe. In 1941 the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, after carefully evaluating its strength and the strength of the enemy led the people into the decisive fight—the armed national liberation revolution—which lasted four years.

Social revolution was the outcome of the national liberation struggle—social relations changed, and the process of abolishing capitalism was set in train. The women of Yugoslavia understood that this struggle was not only for the liberation of their Motherland but for their own emancipation as well.

In the very first days of the uprising women joined partisan detachments and the units of the National Liberation Army and took an active part in all other forms of revolutionary struggle on the occupied and liberated territories. All sections of the population were represented: women workers, students, peasants and housewives.

The women of Yugoslavia displayed great heroism in the struggle against the invaders and internal traitors. A legendary example is the struggle of the Pohorje guerrilla detachment which perished in 1943 in an unequal battle. This detachment included a women's unit under the command of People's Hero Pavla-Katarina Me-

de, a former textile worker. After a long engagement that lasted for many hours, all the women and their comrades-in-arms were killed.

Both in the towns and in the countryside women displayed supreme courage in the fight for the national and social liberation of their country. A 1942 Appeal of the women of Bosnia and Herzegovina read: "Our unity will explain to the entire world where we find the strength for struggle, will explain our belief in victory." These words expressed the feelings of all Yugoslav women.

At this period a special role was assigned to a strong anti-fascist organization of women formed in the war years. In 1942, the Anti-Fascist Front of Women managed to convene a regional conference. This Conference was attended by Comrade Tito, then the Supreme Commander of the National Liberation Army and the guerrilla detachments of Yugoslavia, who said: "I am proud that I head the army which includes a great number of women. I can say that for their heroism and endurance women have been in the very front rank of this struggle. It is a great honour for our people to have such daughters."

About a hundred thousand women fought in the war side by side with the men; a very large proportion—40,000—were wounded. Two thousand women became officers of the National Liberation Army. More than 300,000 women were awarded orders and other military decorations for valour and services. The 1941 Guerrilla Medal was received by 1,900 women, the order of People's Hero, by 87 women. Over two million women took part in the national liberation struggle; 620,000 Yugoslav women perished in com-

bat or were victims of the fascist terror.

The national liberation struggle took the shape of a socialist revolution. Already the first days of the uprising saw not only military action and the formation of a great number of military units, but also the birth of a new people's power. This was another confirmation of the Leninist thesis that the basic question for any revolution is the assumption of power. National liberation committees began to be formed on the liberated territory. The women of Yugoslavia received the right to elect and be elected for the first time in the country's history. Already in 1941 there was not a single national liberation committee which did not include women. In 1942, the higher representative body of the people—the Anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation of Yugoslavia—was elected. It was the provisional parliament of Yugoslavia, and also incorporated women.

In November, 1943, the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia was made the highest legislative body of the country. It promulgated important decisions on the inner state structure. These decisions also provided legal confirmation of the political rights of women. The fact that women were elected to national liberation committees meant that women enjoyed the confidence of the people in their ability to carry out the work assigned to them. Women considered it their important duty and a personal responsibility before the people to take part in the work of the bodies of the new revolutionary government. The equality of women—one of the greatest achievements of the national liberation struggle and the revolution—was

legalized by the Constitution of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1946.

Thus, the question concerning women's place in society was being solved at the same time as was the basic question of our revolution—the question of power. The victory of the revolution and the abolition of all anti-popular laws in accordance with Lenin's teaching were the first steps in the building of a new life for the working people of our country.

Part 2.

*The Role Played by the Women
of Socialist Countries
in Socialist Construction*

*HELEN LAGADINOVA, Chairman
of the Committee of Bulgarian Wo-
men (BPR)*

Bulgarian Women—Active Participants in the Creation of a Socialist Society

Experience of the socialist countries, particularly of the Soviet Union, shows that only under socialism can women achieve full and all-round development, occupy equal positions with men in all spheres of life, gain access to government posts and at the same time be conscientious mothers.

Since Bulgarian women began to take part in socially useful employment, they have become active participants in public affairs.

The percentage of women engaged in the economy has risen sharply since 1946. In 1946, 20 per cent of all workers were women, in 1965—39 per cent, in 1966—41.7 per cent, in 1967—

42 per cent and in 1968—43.2 per cent.

Women make up 43.2 per cent of all workers engaged in industry, 32.9 per cent of the specialists with a higher education and 52.1 per cent of the specialists with a specialized secondary education.

Every fifth engineer in our country is a woman, and in the near future there will be even more. Half of the pupils in our schools are girls as are 43.3 per cent of our students.

Of those working in the fields of health, social security, and sport, 71.2 per cent are women, in the fields of education, culture and art—63.8 per cent, and of science and ancillary services—45.2 per cent.

It is hard to imagine how our collective farming plan could have become a reality without women's participation. Our achievements in agriculture became possible only because of their self-sacrificing and untiring efforts and their vigour and strong feeling of public responsibility.

Women agronomists and livestock experts with university degrees are in charge of 16 of our large collective farms. More than a quarter of the agricultural specialists with university degrees are women, as are 52 per cent of the specialists with a vocational education. In 1968, there were seven times more women specialists than in 1957, and four times the number of agronomists and livestock experts.

Twenty-five per cent of all heads of government offices, enterprises, and public organizations are women.

The process of getting women involved in socially useful employment and public affairs is proceeding at an exceptionally fast rate. Per-

haps that is why women's changed position in society has not been accompanied by a full study of the social consequences of the process and its effects on the economy. And because of this, the practical measures necessary to provide favourable conditions for the optimum activity of women in the family, in outside employment, and in public affairs are a little late in being put into operation.

The scientific and technological revolution is producing new problems which are becoming increasingly acute as was shown at the September plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria in 1969. New demands are being made for working skills and in the sphere of vocational training for prospective jobs. This problem is especially difficult for women, who are housewives and mothers as well as working members of society.

The July Plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1968 adopted a decision to put the affairs of women under the control of one organization. The Committee of Bulgarian Women, was therefore set up and was given new and more extensive functions as compared with those of the old committee which had been charged with only one task—that of developing ties with the international women's movement.

The First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, made a speech at the National Women's Conference held in September, 1968, at which the members of the new Committee of Bulgarian Women were elected. Comrade Zhivkov spoke highly of the part played by women in fulfilling the Party and

government programme, and said that it was time for some government functions connected with women's activities to be given to the newly-formed committee.

The Committee of Bulgarian Women takes an active part in the following aspects of work conducted by the local women's councils.

1. The improvement of the political, educational, family and general cultural level of women, and the teaching of communist morality and work discipline.

2. The co-ordination and control of the work conducted by public and government bodies and organizations concerned with the solution of women's economic and social problems, family problems, and the problems associated with bringing up children.

In order to draw more women in socially useful work the women's movement in Bulgaria is sponsoring a study of prospective jobs most suitable for women.

This is not only a question concerning women and motherhood, but also a question of how best to employ women in the economy, since there are many jobs in which women get more done and do it better than men. It is also a political problem since women will prove their worth in society only when they occupy positions which use their capabilities in the best possible manner. Therefore it is also a question which concerns the development of society as a whole.

Many workers, both men and women, are being freed of their jobs because of the scientific revolution in various fields of the national economy. The problem arises of how to use

these people most rationally—train them anew, improve their qualifications, and give them new jobs. At present, most of the women on co-operative and state farms are engaged in plant growing. The jobs of many women are now being done by machines and it is necessary to employ women in other fields which require higher qualifications and educational levels.

The use of computers has cut down the number of administrative and technical personnel, who were mostly women, and who must now change their jobs.

In industry more people will be required to control production, and fewer will be needed in the actual process of production.

In order not to lose the position they hold in the economy, women will have to be retrained or will have to improve their qualifications.

One of the principal aims of the women's movement is to assist in getting this important work done without delay.

In some branches of industry the regime of work and rest, the kind of work allocated and the type of equipment used are not suited to women's physique. This is harmful, not only to the economy, but also to women's health. We are doing all we can to solve these problems on a scientific basis.

All these problems will be solved more quickly and successfully if specialists from all the socialist countries combine their efforts to establish a single list of professions suitable for women so as to determine women's production output and the regimen of women's working day.

The women's movement in Bulgaria is solving

a number of problems concerned with creating conditions conducive to the optimum activity of women in the family, at work and in public life.

More baby-care centres, public catering centres, and labour-saving devices for housekeeping have made housework less strenuous but these measures, however, failed to shorten the time necessary to do that work. In the city, an unmarried woman spends an average of 98 minutes every day on housework, and a married woman with children—247 minutes. The rapid development of auxiliary services, improvement in public catering, expedient planning, improvement in the furnishing of homes, wider specialization of enterprises and establishments for children, and improvement in the organization of transport will play an important part in shortening the time spent on housework. This in turn will make it possible for women to improve their qualifications and to play a more active part in the scientific revolution. It will also give more importance to their role in the family.

Individual habits of each woman and her manner of bringing up her children should be adapted to present-day requirements since these may also be a source of saving time.

One of the most important problems still remaining concerns the new attitude of society towards the distribution of work within the family, and the rational distribution between husband and wife of the housework and the work of bringing up the children.

The problem of how a woman can be a mother, a worker and an active participant in public affairs cannot be solved successfully and com-

pletely without a sound ideological foundation showing women's position as an equal in the building of socialism.

It is our duty to make a scientific study of the processes which are going on in the modern women's consciousness so as to eliminate the traditional views on the working, social and family life of women.

The mass participation of women in socially useful work in the economy has brought about new social problems and made it necessary for us to concentrate our efforts in research.

On the initiative of the Committee of Bulgarian Women, the Bulgarian Council of Ministers passed a special resolution making it compulsory for state bodies and institutions to prepare a forecast of how women's position in society, in the economy, and in the family will change in the next twenty years.

Contacts between the Committee of Bulgarian Women and some ministries and research institutions have produced very useful results. For example, a consultation council dealing with problems of working women was formed in the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. The council has worked out a large programme of scientific research work and has begun to put it into effect.

The Government Information Agency together with the Committee of Bulgarian Women, the Central Council of the Trade Unions, and also the magazine *Woman Today*, has carried out some sociological investigations on women's role in society, in the economy, and in the family. The results will be presented to the Government and to some state and public bodies.

The local women's councils, in conjunction with the State Control Organizations, checked the quality of family and public services over a large part of the country. The results of this survey have already been presented to the Council of Ministers.

A large number of the district people's councils have held joint meetings with the women's councils on public services and trade.

The Committee of Bulgarian Women, in conjunction with the Central Trade Union Council and the Ministry of Health, organized a survey of mothers' working conditions at plants, construction sites and in shops. During the investigation, documents on women's rights and in defence of maternity were widely publicized. How the laws were being observed was also checked.

The women's movement in Bulgaria will help to solve the general problems which face socialist society.

It is necessary to combine the efforts of all the socialist countries to find ways for further increasing woman's role in socialist society. Some scientific surveys in this field can be carried out by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. All state and public bodies in our countries can unite in their efforts to solve the problems connected with the place of modern women in society which are common to the whole socialist community.

We have learned a lot from the discussions conducted during the conference. They have shed more light on how best to deal with these problems.

*INGE LANGE, Chairman of the
Women's Committee of the Politbu-
reau of the Central Committee of
the Socialist Unity Party of Germa-
ny (GDR)*

How Lenin's Teaching on Real Equality for Women Is Being Implemented

Our Party has always paid great attention to the question of the social emancipation of women, encouraging its members working in the trade unions and other public organizations and in government and managerial bodies to observe its principles concerning that question.

The first thing we did after the Soviet Army smashed Hitlerism was to abolish all legal inequality between women and men. We were able to do this rather quickly and, to some extent, while still living under the anti-fascist democratic regime. Following the establishment of the German Democratic Republic the equality of women before the law was made a constitutional norm. In 1950, the People's Chamber enacted a law on mother and child welfare and women's rights.

We also very quickly accomplished what Lenin had spoken about when addressing Moscow working women in the early years of Soviet power. He said then: "Equality before the law is not necessarily equality in fact. We want the working woman to be the equal of the working man not only before the law but in actual fact.

For this working women must take an increasing part in the administration of the socialized enterprises and in the administration of the state. By taking part in administration women will learn quickly and will catch up with the men."

It became clear already in the early years of socialist construction that the attainment of equality between women and men in everyday life would be a long and complex process. We began by drawing women into social production. This is a step of fundamental importance, as it gives the woman economic independence. Today 77.4 per cent of all women able to work either hold jobs or study.

In his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, Lenin pointed out that by taking part in social production the woman is able to develop and become more independent. Involvement in production gives women a chance to develop their talents and abilities.

A socialist state, even one only starting to build a new society, creates by virtue of its very nature a whole set of conditions necessary for carrying this out in practice.

To involve women in social production it was vital to build a network of nurseries and kindergartens, communal dining rooms, service establishments, etc., and simultaneously to give women, especially factory and farm women, political and professional training and thus ensure real equality between women and men both in the sphere of professional work and in the administration of the country's enterprises and the state. At first quite a large number of Party members thought it would be enough to provide

the appropriate number of nurseries and service establishments to ensure equality for the woman. This is of course important, but it is far from adequate. There must be a determined drive against age-old habits and mentalities, against the ingrained notions and prejudices that conflict with what the woman should really do in a socialist society. Take, for instance, the mistaken view—one held by some women too—that women cannot be as efficient as men, that her business is to look after the house and her children and, finally, that there is a limit to what she can do in the field of public work. There will be true equality only when such obsolescent misconceptions are done away with.

I would like to note in this connection that the necessary educational work must be carried out not only among women, but also among men, and that not only women should be made responsible for this task. Otherwise the rate of socialist construction will slacken.

Our Party strictly adhered to Lenin's advice not to leave this matter only to the women and not to put the blame on them should progress in the field not be rapid enough. It has always maintained that this is a social task and must be the concern of all of society.

The attainment of equality for women in everyday life should be a part of the programme of activity of the Party and the state. Executives in all spheres of social life and at all levels must display the proper initiative, and, relying on public support, carry out in a businesslike manner the necessary measures.

It is also important that women should themselves show interest in the attainment of equa-

lity. Lenin said of the proletarian women's movement that in the same way as the workingman's emancipation is the workingman's concern, so is the emancipation of the working woman, her own concern.

Our experience shows that of decisive importance for active participation by women in the matter of attaining equality is the level of their social awareness and of their education. Practice shows that the more the woman knows and the more she is able to do, the more consistently will she combat all that is unworthy and backward. The more socially conscious she is, the more resolutely will she advocate socialism and enter what were exclusively male domains before.

In recent years our Party, the trade unions and government bodies have been making it a particular concern to help women receive an education. The importance of this task is emphasized in our new Constitution.

On the basis of Party and government decisions, a special system has been organized throughout the republic for providing women with an education and advanced professional training. This incorporates both political and professional instruction in under-graduate and postgraduate studies. The idea is not to lower educational standards but to take really better note of the actual conditions in which women, and especially working women with children, live.

Since each year 35-40 thousand working women qualify for skill category rating after taking professional enhancement courses, the proportion of women workers on skilled jobs has

now reached 23 per cent of the total. More than 8,000 women attend or are completing the special courses for women that were started at our technical schools four years ago, and that train mainly technicians and economists. Soon special departments are to be started for women college graduates, with the chief attention paid to the technical fields.

Through the organization of special courses for women we have been able to double the number of women graduates from our Party schools. Our aim is to give four out of every five working women at least a complete professional education by 1980 and to have women account for half the student body at specialized secondary educational establishments and at least 45 per cent of the enrollment at the universities and colleges.

The rising educational and professional levels among women have created more favourable conditions for the nomination of women to high social and government office. However, since there remains some difficulty in this respect we are now endeavouring to build up at government and economic executive level and also in the leadership of the Party and public organizations a stable and effective reserve of women, who would have a good Marxist-Leninist grounding and experience in public work besides a professional training. Here we pay particular attention to girl activists from the Socialist Youth League.

To achieve real equality for women, we believe it most important to implement a whole range of measures that would make life easier for women. Here again we are guided by Lenin's words found in his remarkable essay *A Great Be-*

ginning, where he says: “The real *emancipation of women*, real communism, will begin only where and when an all-out struggle begins (led by the proletariat wielding the state power) against this petty housekeeping, or rather when its *wholesale transformation* into a large-scale socialist economy begins.”

The situation in our republic today is that in a family of four housekeeping takes up an average of 47.5 hours a week, of which the woman has to shoulder some four-fifths. Most of this time, 15.5 hours, is spent on cooking. Another 12.1 hours are spent tidying up the house; 7.9 hours are spent on laundry, 6 hours on shopping and another 6 hours on other chores.

What we mainly want to do is to cut the time spent on chores that are particularly time-consuming and that could be “industrialized”—as for instance, the providing of hot meals through a public catering network, laundry to be done by communal service establishments, etc.

If hot meals could be provided for all schoolchildren of working mothers and all employees generally through a public catering system and most of the washing be taken in by public laundries, we would be able to reduce the 47.5 hours cited to 30. The aim of our economic plans is to achieve this as soon as possible—to which end, naturally a large financial outlay and the building of corresponding facilities are necessary.

We would be most happy if by concerted effort we could within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance achieve faster production of the required technical equipment and facilities.

To make things easier for women and their

families we are doing as much as we can to organize more nurseries, kindergartens and prolonged-day schools, which accommodate respectively 23 per cent of the children under four, 61 per cent of those under seven, and over half of the first to fourth formers at schools. Our aim is to provide, in the 1970s, accommodations for all the children of working women.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany regards the effort to lighten the woman's load as a major aspect of our social evolution and incorporates this in its plans. All the conditions will be created for women to display their talents and abilities ever more effectively in the interests of the building of an advanced socialist society and the consolidation of our defenses.

Our experience teaches us that for the attainment of full equality for women which would enable the woman to display all her powers, purposeful ideological work will always be of great importance. Our Party has always sought to inculcate in women class convictions. We hold that this is of special importance in respect to the women, not only because they, as mothers, have a great influence on the rising generation, but also because they themselves constitute a tremendous social force. The final tipping of the scales in favour of socialism will, to a great extent, depend on their outlook and activity, on their stand in the class struggle between capitalism and socialism.

We wish to assure all, especially you, our dear Soviet sisters—for you were first in the great socialist Soviet Union to embark upon the road of emancipation for women—that we shall con-

tinue always to take Lenin's immortal ideas and actions as our guide.

Let us continue to abide by Lenin's teachings. Let us continue to strengthen our friendship and solidarity. And let us give the millions of oppressed and exploited women on earth a graphic demonstration of what socialism really means, especially for the woman.

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The Role of Women in Society Under Socialism

Each new epoch in social evolution presents its own problems, upon whose optimum solution the fate of mankind's future depends. One urgent task now is that of moulding the human personality. And particular attention is paid to creating conditions in which the woman can develop fully.

Before the advent of socialism no social formation had put forward, nor could it have put forward, as an immediate objective in social evolution that of moulding an integral personality, regardless of a person's social status, since there were no socio-economic conditions necessary for this.

As a practical aim of social evolution this task was for the first time set by Marxism-Leninism, and further developed in many resolutions of the CPSU, decisions of the Soviet Government and in the resolutions and decisions adopted by the socialist countries.

All these measures pay special attention to the moulding of the woman's personality, to the question of her role in society. The importance of this question cannot be overestimated. This is borne out by the discussions raging around the problem in capitalist, socialist and developing countries. But a correct solution to this question is not always found. In such circumstances, an analysis of Lenin's views on the role of women in socialist society acquires particular significance.

The human personality discharges many roles. The more developed personality always plays a number of diverse and important social roles. Lenin said that it was necessary that the woman should be a comprehensively developed, creative, and socially active person. By social activity he had in mind activity that was all-inclusive, embracing production, and public, political and also everyday activity. This approach of Lenin's is vital for the solution of both general social problems and the problems relating to the women's movement.

Concerning the woman's social activity Lenin attached particular significance to the woman's independent participation not only in social production and not only in voting, but in day-to-day administrative work, which he considered as the main field for expression by an individual of

his personality. In his *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?* he developed his views as to the importance of social activity for the development of one's personality. He wrote: "We know that an unskilled labourer or a cook cannot immediately get on with the job of state administration... We demand that *training* in the work of state administration be conducted by class-conscious workers and soldiers and that this training be begun at once, i. e., that a *beginning* be made at once in training all the working people, all the poor, for this work."

Lenin maintained that it was necessary to begin at once to train the broad masses in the work of state administration, by which he meant not only and not so much the acquisition of administrative skill as daily routine work.

"Every representative of the masses, every citizen," he wrote, "must be put in such conditions that he can participate in the discussion of state laws, in the choice of his representatives and in the implementation of state laws." Further, he noted: "If women are not drawn into public service, into the militia, into political life, if women are not torn out of their stupefying house and kitchen environment, it will be *impossible* to guarantee real freedom, it will be *impossible* to build even democracy, let alone socialism." He believed that women not only should take part in the work of administering the state but should also participate in supervision and control work. He said that they should participate in supervising the stock-taking and distribution of food, commodities, material, fuel, etc. Here, again he emphasized that it was essen-

tial to develop in the woman a creative approach to socialist reality, and the feeling of being master not only of her own factory, but also of the entire state. In this he saw the main way to develop one's personality.

Being active in the social sphere on the part of the woman has been rightly regarded as an indication that she has consciously adopted the Marxist-Leninist outlook and made it part of her way of life, that she has come to identify her own needs, interests, and principles with those of society as a whole. In other words, her wider participation in social activity represents the main direction of her development as a person, who actively, independently, freely, and comprehensively shapes her own life. Lenin imparted the broadest of meaning to the concept of social activity, never reducing it to activity in one segment of society or to any one kind of activity, however important it may be. In his writings he stressed the need to encourage the woman to take an active part in the work of state administration, starting out with the functions of witnesses in the exercise of workers' control and inspection up to decision-making on a state level. Moreover, he emphasized that wider participation in social activity as the way to one's comprehensive development as a person presupposed a comprehensive integral approach and attitude to everything one did. And it is precisely in this way should we understand Lenin's words when he said that to learn to administer the state was to link one's every move, one's job and work in any field with the overall struggle for the common interests of the working people, in short, to approach everything from the stand-

point of what benefited the state and from class positions. Social activity should and must be a part of the life not only of those elected or appointed to government posts or public office, that is, not only of those whose duty is to carry out the functions of administration, but of every citizen, who becomes more socially active as he becomes increasingly aware of his responsibility to society and the state. This, as we see it, is the gist of Lenin's ideas on the subject.

At the same time Lenin maintained that the development of the woman as a person depended not only on her involvement in social production, political affairs and the work to administer the state and all of society, that is, not only on her changed social roles, but also on her changed roles in everyday life.

In all pre-socialist formations, the woman's everyday roles were restricted to caring for her family, to cooking for them, doing the washing for them, tidying the house, and doing various domestic chores. This work, Lenin said, "is exceptionally petty and does not include anything that would in any way promote the development of the woman." The everyday roles that the woman discharged in the old society impeded, rather than promoted, her development as a person. Thus, Lenin believed that only the "industrialization" of everyday life, only a system of public services could revolutionize this everyday life and radically alter the woman's everyday roles so that her main function in everyday life would consist in bringing up her children. In Lenin's view, housekeeping along with the woman's everyday and family roles were to be

changed primarily through handing over all stupefying, non-creative and routine chores to mechanized and automated public services, which would free the woman to employ her time and energies in discharging creative, socially meaningful functions not only in society as a whole but also in the family, and more specifically such functions as those of bringing up the children and creating a domestic atmosphere that is emotionally satisfying and of a high ethical level.

At the same time Lenin suggested as a temporary measure that of searching for "internal reserves" that could make life easier for the woman. This, he said, should be done for the time being, until society would be in a position to provide a network of all the needed public services. He meant the rational division of chores within the family. However, he emphasized that this was but a forced remedy, and that the task of revolutionizing everyday life consisted—and this derived from the very essence of Marxism-Leninism—in the socialization of all non-creative functions in everyday life, just as in the case of production, and not in the sharing out of those functions between husband and wife since such functions equally obstructed the development of the woman and the man as persons. As the system of public services improves, one's functions in the family will be of a creative character, and serve to shape new relationships within the family and to mould one's personality. These functions, as indicating the human being's wider social activity in everyday life, should, naturally, be shared between husband and wife.

Thus, Lenin's concept of the human personali-

ty provides us with a theoretical foundation and a basic set of methods for correctly dealing with the various aspects of the question concerning the woman's role in society. It defines the objective criteria for assessing any measures proposed on this subject.

Anything that helps the woman develop as a person and thus promotes social equality, is progressive. The great principle which Engels cited as the essence of the communist teaching, that of "the free development of each as the condition for the free development of all," has a direct bearing upon this.

Consequently, the present practice of sharing domestic chores between husband and wife cannot improve much the position of women as is believed by many Swedes, who think that equal sharing of domestic chores will give the woman equality in a society in which there are class inequality and exploitation. This, though necessary, is but a temporary measure which is to be replaced by a system of public services that will take over all routine work, and the creative functions are to be divided among the members of the family.

It seems to me that all other measures which have been adopted and which temporarily take the woman away from social production and socio-political activity should likewise be viewed as temporary measures.

In the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution, for a woman to take several years off from productive work and socio-political activity may lead to her complete isolation

from important social tasks, to her narrowing down her interests to everyday routine work, and moreover, to her becoming socially passive, which would mean reverting to the old pattern of the division of social roles between the sexes.

The modern woman is one who takes an active part in all spheres of social life, including production, socio-political affairs and family life. Sociological surveys have shown that there is a direct link between a woman's social activity and social prestige and her roles within the family and her prestige before her husband and children. They also show that there is a stronger emotional bond between husband and wife in families in which the woman is an individual, in her own right, who has numerous threads of contact with social affairs and displays a profound interest in social matters. Thus, far from making her less feminine, far from causing conflicts within the home, these interests serve to strengthen and stabilize family life. At a time when the problem of the development of the woman as a person is put forward as a crucial problem, it is necessary also to look for new forms of educational work among women, forms that would deepen and broaden the woman's links with society, insofar as it is the wealth of social links that makes for the richness of a person's inner life, that determines the pattern of his social roles.

Such new forms of work will help the modern woman develop as a person, and this process is as irreversible as the advance of socialist transformations.

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Lenin on Women's Role in Society and the Solution of the Question of Emancipation of Women in the Korean People's Democratic Republic

The great revolutionary leader Lenin, teacher of the working class and the working people of the entire world, dedicated his life to the revolutionary cause of the working class in order to bring freedom and happiness to the exploited and oppressed masses, to secure emancipation for women who were humiliated and despised. The work he did for the great cause of socialism and communism is truly immortal.

Lenin devoted much attention to finding a solution for the question of women's emancipation, to which he attached immense significance for the successful accomplishment of the revolutionary cause of the working class.

Founder of the world's first state of the proletarian dictatorship, he said that women must take a most active part in the revolution and in socialist construction. His conception of the woman's role and place in the revolutionary struggle is brilliantly embodied in the heroic feats of

Soviet women in the grim trials of the Socialist Revolution, the Civil War, and the Great Patriotic War.

Lenin's views on the woman's question have been a source of inspiration to the women in the colonies and semi-colonies who have risen up against imperialism in the struggle for national liberation, to all women in the world who seek social emancipation.

In the belief that the emancipation of the women, who make up half the country's population, is a basic question in the social revolution, Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, has always paid great attention to this question, and at each phase of the revolution has formulated the correct policy for the solution of the question of women's emancipation.

In the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, he pointed out: "For Korean women to achieve liberation and become truly free in all spheres of political, economic and social life, the feudal system and colonial domination must be overthrown. To this end we must drive out the Japanese imperialist aggressors and secure the nation's liberation and independence. To achieve this the women must actively participate in the anti-Japanese, national-liberation struggle and fight shoulder to shoulder with the men."

The women of many of the embattled countries of the world, including our own country, have, by their deeds, brilliantly confirmed the correctness of the idea that women will become truly free only by fighting imperialist rulers and exploiters.

Following liberation from the colonialist yoke of Japanese imperialism, the great leader of our revolution, Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, secured liberty and equality for all our women through the consistent implementation of democratic reforms. By conducting an agrarian reform, he made the millions of peasant women the owners of the land, women who, under the regime of feudal land tenure, had starved and had been humiliated. Meanwhile the enactment of the laws on the nationalization of industry and on labour made the working women the true masters of the country, enjoying equal rights with the men. The historic law on equality for women was promulgated. A great effort was made to abolish illiteracy, and work to promote cultural development was carried on among the women. The aim of the ideological work done among the broad masses was to eradicate the survivals of feudal ideology and age-old customs. All this enabled the women to take part on an equal footing with the men in all fields of political, economic and cultural activity. They dedicated their abilities and energies to carrying forward the revolution and building up a new Motherland.

The liberation of the women from imperialist and feudal exploitation and oppression was the first step towards the solution of the question of women's emancipation. For the complete solution of this question it was necessary to free the women from all forms of exploitation and oppression and to create in the country the socio-economic conditions that would ensure their rights and equality.

After the democratic revolution was comple-

ted, our great leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, charted the line for a socialist revolution and called on the entire nation to accomplish this revolution.

In our country the socialist revolution triumphed under the wise leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers. For the first time in the country's history, in thousands of years, our women became happy and free working women in a socialist society, who had been liberated from all class oppression and inequality. Now the doors were wide open before them to work and study in the interests of society and the state and in their own interests. This was a crucial turning point in the struggle for the women's social emancipation.

However, this does not mean that with the establishment of socialism a complete and final solution for the question of women's rights has been found. Much remains to be done to raise the woman's social role and to encourage all the women in the country to actively participate in socialist and communist construction.

Comrade Kim Il Sung noted that it was of great importance after socialism had been introduced in the country to conduct ideological work among the women in order to consistently remould them in the working-class pattern and help them become trustworthy revolutionaries and Communists. He said that only by remoulding the women who constitute half of the country's population would it be possible to tackle the question of remoulding the working people by revolutionizing the family as society's basic unit, and to remake society.

The remoulding of women in the working-class pattern is likewise of great importance for the rearing of the young generation. Speaking of the role that mothers play as the first educators of their children, Comrade Kim Il Sung said: "It is of great importance for the children's further development whether their mothers give them the right initial upbringing or not. When mothers give children a good upbringing in the family, it is very easy to rear them later at school or at a public organization... The upbringing that children receive at the hands of their mothers greatly influences their character formation and the habits that they acquire. From time immemorial prominent persons received in their childhood a good upbringing from their mothers."

Only by eradicating all survivals of the old ideology that persist in women's outlook, and by equipping them with the revolutionary ideas of the working class will it be possible to have all the women consciously and actively participate in social labour and to solve the question of raising their cultural and technical level. However, it must be borne in mind that the uprooting of the survivals of the old ideology is not a simple matter and cannot be accomplished overnight.

The main thing that must be done to remould the women in the working-class pattern is to equip them with the revolutionary ideas of Comrade Kim Il Sung, with the ideas of our Party. These ideas consist in carrying out the revolution in our country to the end and by ourselves, in relying on our own forces, creatively developing Marxism-Leninism and applying it to

the concrete realities obtaining in our country.

The women of our country are devoting a great effort to understand and make them their own the ideas of Comrade Kim Il Sung, and to learn from Kan Ban Sok, a Korean mother and a model revolutionary.

It is important today to instill in the women not only love for their country and people and the determination to defend the revolutionary and socialist gains, but also feelings of international solidarity with the socialist forces and the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces all over the world, and with the peoples fighting against US imperialism and its hangers-on.

An important place in the views of Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, on the women's emancipation occupies the question of involving all the women in social labour. This is a task that the working-class party must accomplish to provide a full solution for the question of women's emancipation.

The esteemed and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, has given all women work and good working conditions. Besides developing industries of national importance, he has also developed local industries on a large scale, thereby creating the conditions enabling women living everywhere in the country to actively participate in social labour.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, has provided the best buildings for nurseries and kindergartens. He has sited them evenly throughout the country so that working mothers suffer no inconvenience. In the

levels reached in the development of a network of nurseries and kindergartens we are a highly developed country.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, has introduced for women a system of paid maternity leaves, lately he has made it possible for mothers with three and more children to work a six-hour day but receive the full pay for an eight-hour day.

By establishing a system of free tuition and free medical services, he has enabled mothers to work for the good of the country and society without having to worry about the education and medical care of their children.

The esteemed and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung has provided us women with all the conditions we need for taking part in social labour. As a result, today our women are energetically working in all fields of socialist construction and are leading happy lives.

In his thinking on the solution of the question of women's emancipation Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, attaches great importance to the building of a women's organization and to its activity. Following the country's liberation from the colonial yoke of Japanese imperialism, we were able on November 18, 1945, under the personal direction of Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, to set up the Korean Democratic Women's Union and throughout the revolution and construction period correctly decide on questions relating to the women's movement and other problems pertaining to women. After the triumph of the socialist revolution, the esteemed

and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, outlined the tasks of the women's organization and pointed out the ways of further improving ideological and organizational work as befitted the new conditions that had arisen after the establishment of the socialist system.

The Korean Democratic Women's Union has become a powerful organization with an efficient leadership. It has local branches, set up on the basis of democratic centralism, in all regional and production units throughout the country. It serves as the Party's reliable helper and it is a militant organization that upholds and implements the revolutionary ideas of our esteemed and beloved leader.

Korean women have become a powerful revolutionary force, and active builders of socialism. They directly participate in the administration of the state. Many have been elected deputies to the Supreme People's Assembly, while 33,599 women are deputies to the People's Assemblies of local bodies of government. More than 100,000 work as engineers, technicians and specialists in industry, farming, education, culture, science, health and other branches of the national economy. Many hold executive office in Party and government organizations, serve as heads of farming co-operatives, managers of large collective farms and heads of district committees for the administration of farming co-operatives; many are scientists, teachers, doctors and workers in the field of arts.

Comrade Kim Il Sung's creative ideas on the question of women's emancipation constitute an

inestimable ideological wealth, a contribution to Marxism-Leninism; they are great ideas that represent a further development and the creative application of Lenin's theories on the emancipation of women in the conditions of the new epoch, when hundreds of millions of women in the colonies and semi-colonies have consciously emerged in the historical arena, and democracy and socialism are winning globally.

Today Comrade Kim Il Sung's ideas about women's emancipation meet with ever greater response and support among women of the world striving for emancipation, and especially among women of the colonies and semi-colonies. They are a bright beacon that lights up with every radiant hope the way before the women in the southern part of our Motherland, who under US imperialism's colonialist regime have been suffering from harsh exploitation and oppression and from misery and calamity.

Today the women of South Korea have risen up against US imperialism and are struggling for genuine liberation and for their rights. And in so doing, they are following the road lit up by Comrade Kim Il Sung.

It is the profound conviction of the women of South Korea that to win true freedom and their rights they must drive the US imperialist aggressors out of South Korea, put an end to the military fascist dictatorship of their hangers-on, the Park Chung Hee clique, and establish genuine people's power.

Meanwhile Korean women living in Japan, who for so many years have been subjected in an alien land to national abasement and depri-

ved of all their rights, have today, thanks to the profound concern of Comrade Kim Il Sung, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers, and the great leader of the forty-million-strong Korean people, set up their own political organization, the Korean Democratic Women's Union in Japan, and are educating all Korean women living in Japan on the basis of our leader's great revolutionary ideas.

As full-fledged citizens of the Korean People's Democratic Republic who happen to reside abroad they are struggling hard to uphold their democratic rights, more specifically, the right of repatriation, and to evict the US imperialists from South Korea and promote independent, peaceful national reunification.

All of us Korean women will continue to still more energetically carry forward the anti-imperialist, anti-US movement for the withdrawal of the US imperialists from South Korea and for our Motherland's independent and peaceful reunification, for a complete solution to the question of women's emancipation in our country, and for the full triumph of socialism and communism.

Having inherited the great revolutionary ideas of Lenin, the teacher of the working people of the whole world, we are resolved to strengthen solidarity and friendship with our sisters in the fraternal socialist countries and with progressive women the world over, and to contribute to the common anti-imperialist movement for the sake of the complete and final victory of world revolution and the complete and final emancipation of all the women of the world.

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The Role of Women in the Building of a New Society in Socialist Romania

Romanian women, like all Romanians, render profound homage to the memory of Vladimir Lenin, who presents for the working people of the world a model of dedication to the working-class cause, an example of ideological firmness and political perspicacity, and an embodiment of the militant and creative spirit of Marxism.

One has every ground to say that the irrepressible growth of the might and influence of socialism throughout the world and the impact which Marxism-Leninism has had on hundreds of millions of people everywhere are of exceptional importance in the shaping of a new attitude to the woman's role and place in modern society.

Thrown into bold relief against this historical background is the tremendous impact that the theoretical writings and revolutionary activities of the great Lenin have had on progressives throughout the world.

As spokesman of the Romanian people's interests and at the same time an active detachment of the revolutionary, democratic and progressive movement in the world today, the Romanian Communist Party has unflinchingly and con-

sistently striven throughout its history for the triumph of Marxist-Leninist ideas on social and national liberation.

Imbued with lofty feelings of responsibility for the destiny of the working class and the people of their country, and unselfishly and heroically resisting the repression of the ruling classes, many of the fighters in our Party were harassed and hounded in their revolutionary struggle, with no small number dying in prison or before firing squads. Among those heroes, whose names will forever be enshrined in the people's memory, were many remarkable women who had unshakable faith in the eventual triumph of the ideals of the revolution.

A quarter of a century has passed since our country was liberated from the fascist yoke. In this period, under the tested leadership of the Romanian Communist Party, the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, the intelligentsia and other social strata has scored remarkable successes. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, said at the 10th Party Congress: "Practice has fully confirmed the correctness of our Party's general Marxist-Leninist line and its ability to apply socialist principles to the concrete conditions obtaining in Romania and to pool the efforts of the entire people to achieve economic and social progress in the country."

In these 25 years we have advanced from a bourgeois system with feudalistic survivals to a regime which has abolished the exploitation of man by man. The economy, put on a sound basis of socialist industrialization, has had an unprecedented record of achievement. As a result

of introducing co-operation in agriculture, new socialist relationships have emerged in that sector of the national economy. Thus, led by the Communist Party, the Romanian people have successfully built up a new socialist society. All this time the Romanian people have promoted relations of comradely co-operation and solidarity with the peoples of the Soviet Union and other countries building socialism.

All these deep-going transformations have also affected the social status of the women of Romania. Loyal to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the Romanian Communist Party has always linked the emancipation of women with the effort to build a society which is free of exploitation. The proclamation at the outset of full equality between women and men was an important event of far-reaching consequences, affecting every aspect of economic and social life. The equality of women with men is written into the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania. This principle was reflected in a whole series of legislations on the protection of working women and the rights of mother and child. Numerous measures of an economic, social and educational character have been taken to encourage women to work and take part in social and cultural activities.

The country's new economic position, and the fact that the material foundations for socialism have been laid, open up before the women a wide field for activity and create conditions in which they can apply their creative energy.

It is noteworthy that today women account for 47 per cent of the country's entire employed population, and for 30 per cent of the factory

and office workers, which is 12 times more than in 1930. But this is a matter not only of numerical growth, but of profound social changes. This can be seen in the fact that woman now has full access to education, may receive the kind of training that she needs, and work in any trade or profession of her choice. Thus in industry, besides the garment-making, textile and food and other industries in which women had traditionally worked, more and more women are now working in the chemical, electrical engineering and electronics industries, which in the years of socialist construction have forged ahead to occupy places of increasing importance in the national economy. Meanwhile the fact that women now do the most diverse jobs at enterprises outfitted with the most sophisticated equipment naturally encourages them to strive to improve their skills and acquire diverse trades and professions.

There is a mounting interest among women in the technical trades or professions that are associated with the rapid advances in modern science. Whereas over the past ten years the number of male engineers and technicians increased by a third, in this same period the number of women in these fields almost doubled.

Today women operate complex machines at factories, conduct bold experiments, innovate and invent, and in general successfully demonstrate their talents and abilities. In the field of education, culture and the health services, women are in the majority. This drastic change in the woman's life has been accompanied by fundamental changes in her psychology, in her attitude to her role and place in society. One

should also note that now, when she is working in fields that were out of her reach previously, when she is revealing her abilities in every field of human endeavour and has every access to a higher education, the old concepts of her role as no more than that of a housewife are disappearing. The most important ethical aspect of her new status in socialist Romania is a feeling of responsibility for the work she does which merges with a sense of dignity and self-respect.

The task of encouraging the woman to work and of helping her develop socialist awareness has been carried out under the guidance of the Communist Party. Much has also been done by the women's movement under the direction of the Romanian Women's National Council.

The woman actively participates in the country's political life and social affairs. In his writings Lenin emphasized this noting its significance for the successful building of socialism.

The process of involving the woman in social and political activity is bound up with the development of socialist democracy and the perfection of every kind of social relationship. To illustrate Romania's achievements in this respect we would like to cite the following figures. In 1946, there were only 19 women among the members of parliament; today 67 women from all walks of life who have distinguished themselves in social production and public affairs, have been elected to the National Assembly. Knowledgable and full of civic awareness, they are contributing to the great cause of socialist construction.

In bodies of local government the 41,000 elected women account for 31 per cent of the total number of deputies. Many women hold executive

office in the trade unions, co-operatives and other public organizations. They work as managers of big factories or serve on the managerial boards of various enterprises and agricultural producers' co-operatives. They fulfil their civic duties with honour.

In his report to the Party's 10th Congress Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, spoke highly of the women's contribution to wide-scale socialist construction and of their participation in public life. "The women of our country, who constitute more than half of our population, have," he said, "shown themselves to be an important force in socialist construction and are making a great contribution to increasing the output of material and cultural values, to the education of the rising generation, to national progress. Our Party will continue to give every attention to the task of encouraging the women to work in accordance with their knowledge, ability and skill, and nominate them to executive posts in all fields of social life in conformity with their talent, training and qualifications." For Romanian women these words are stimulating and are a source of fresh strength.

In a society that encourages women to work and to participate in social and political activities, conditions must be provided in which the woman could work and carry out her duties as mother. Motherhood is a major social function and every care must be taken to protect the health of mother and child. The measures the state has adopted in this respect have had a great effect on the woman's status as an equal member of society. Paid maternity leaves, state

child grants, a shorter working day for nursing mothers, the possibility afforded to mothers of small children (under 7 years of age) to do part-time work, the free health services, free tuition, and the constant effort to expand the public services and to provide and increasing variety of merchandise of better quality, all convincingly show that our social system creates the conditions for genuine equality. Of course we must not be content with what we have achieved but strive to increase the assistance given to the woman in the discharge of her professional, maternal, and house-keeping duties. In our country the goals in this field have been set, and still greater concern will be shown for the woman in the coming years.

Actively participating in social and political affairs, the women of Romania, like the entire nation, are contributing to humanity's great movement for peace and social progress. There is an indissoluble bond between the domestic policies of our Party and our state, whose basic objective is to build a comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania, and their foreign policy whose aim is to consolidate relations of friendship and co-operation with all the socialist countries, strengthen the anti-imperialist forces, and promote peaceful international co-operation with all states regardless of their social systems. The women of Romania unanimously approve and fully support this policy which expresses their deep convictions.

In accordance with this policy the Romanian Women's National Council consistently promotes friendship and co-operation with women's organizations of the USSR and all socialist countries

and maintains contacts with 70 different national women's organizations on all the continents, and with regional and international women's organizations. As a member of the Women's International Democratic Federation since its foundation in 1945, the Romanian Women's National Council participates in all the activities organized by the Federation in order to strengthen world solidarity among women in their fight for their democratic rights and freedoms, a happy future for their children, and peace and social progress.

The Romanian women's great record of achievement in every field of endeavour and their increasing contribution to socialist construction are the results of the correct Marxist-Leninist policy conducted by the Romanian Communist Party. All this bears out the prediction which Vladimir Ilyich Lenin made more than half a century ago, namely that the establishment of new socialist relationships presented the one and only way of opening to the woman the doors to full and genuine emancipation.

LUPE UELIZ, Member of the National Directorate of the Cuban Women's Federation (Cuba)

The Women of Cuba Are Advancing Along Lenin's Road

Developing Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, Lenin correctly assessed the woman's role in the attainment of humanity's lofty ideals. The new society could

not be built without her participation in the effort, he said.

In his theoretical writings and practical work he fought against the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists who took an opportunistic view of the role of women in society and in the working-class struggle. He upheld the materialistic principle which declares that the emancipation of women is possible only under socialism, a necessary phase in the creation of a classless communist society.

The first Soviet Constitution of 1918 proclaimed the equality of all citizens regardless of sex, race or nationality. Lenin pointed out, however, that these rights must be backed up by the concrete achievements of the socialist society which was laying the material foundations for their exercise.

The October Socialist Revolution opened up new roads of struggle for the rights of women on a world scale, by ushering in the world's first society that put an end to the exploitation of man by man.

Marxism-Leninism today illuminates the struggle, which has been carried on for many centuries, for the emancipation of women. Much has been achieved in this respect from the proclamation of the world's first socialist state which Lenin founded to the brave deeds performed by women in the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people who are carrying out the honourable patriotic and international task of ending US imperialist aggression and building a new society in their country.

Under the Marxist-Leninist leadership of Fidel Castro, the Cuban revolution is shaping a new

society. It has given the woman equality with the man, assigning to both an equally important role in the conscious building of socialism and communism.

For more than ten years Cuba has been undergoing a period of historic change. The victory of the revolution on January 1, 1959 was more than a change of national leadership. It initiated the complete transformation of a weakly-developed society, dominated by inequality and injustice and riddled with numerous ulcers which were a direct consequence of its being dependent on Yankee imperialism.

One of its most glaring iniquities was inequality between women and men.

The emancipation of women was inseparably linked to the liberation of the entire society. The victory of the Cuban revolution paved the way for the woman's complete emancipation by doing away with the old socio-economic system and imperialist domination.

At the very beginning the revolution enacted laws placing in the hands of the people the land, factories, banks, shops, means of transportation and all properties that had for centuries been in the control of the exploiter classes. For this reason the Cuban woman immediately gave her support to the revolutionary government and rose in defense of the revolution's gains.

The resolve of the women of Cuba to defend their country was especially manifest during the armed Yankee invasion at Playa Giron in April 1961 and during the Caribbean crisis of 1962. At the most crucial moments the women, like the entire nation, demonstrated courage, awareness and determination. They took over from the men

at the workbench and in the field, did duty in the militia at their places of work, took care of the wounded, and were prepared to go into battle.

To defend and advance the cause of the revolution it was essential to pool the efforts of the women. To this end the Cuban Women's Federation was set up on August 23, 1960. On that occasion our Prime Minister, Fidel Castro, said that this step taken by the women of Cuba represented one more victory and yet another big effort on the part of our people. The uniting of women who had joined the revolution from every walk of life meant that a new force had appeared, fervent, numerically strong and of decisive importance for the cause of our revolution.

The Federation's main task is to encourage the women to take part in the effort to build the new life by raising their ideological, political, cultural and educational levels.

Lenin attached great importance to the influence of the Party on the masses, to the establishment of organizations that would encourage them to participate in the creative process. In her *Reminiscences of Lenin*, Klara Zetkin tells us what Lenin had thought over the whole question. He had said: "The Party must have bodies, working groups, commissions, committees, bureaus or whatever you like, whose particular duty it is to arouse the masses of women workers, to bring them into contact with the Party, and to keep them under its influence. That, of course, involves systematic work among them. We must train those whom we arouse and win, and equip them for the proletarian class struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party. I am thinking not only of proletarian women, whether they

work in the factory or at home. The poor peasant women, the petty-bourgeoisie—they, too, are the prey of capitalism, and more so ever since the war. The unpolitical, unsocial, backward psychology of these women, their isolated sphere of activity, the entire manner of their life—these are facts. It would be absurd to overlook them, absolutely absurd. We need appropriate bodies to carry on work amongst them, special methods of agitation and forms of organization. That is not feminism, that is practical, revolutionary expediency."

After the victory of the Cuban revolution it was necessary to make a tremendous effort to abolish the ignorance and backwardness into which our people had been plunged and to eradicate the misconceptions planted first by Spanish colonialism and then by the Yankees.

This could be done only by carrying out a planned system of measures to educate all segments of the population, beginning with the most backward. The task was summed up in a short phrase: "Education for the masses."

With the enthusiastic participation of the entire nation illiteracy was wiped out in just one year, in 1961. In three years a national system of education was built up that guarantees all, including the women, equal opportunities for acquiring a free education and enrolling in institutions of learning. A wide network of boarding and semi-boarding schools was organized and a system of students' stipends introduced. The Cuban system of education is the only one of its kind on the American continent. Among those teaching the illiterate in the drive against illitera-

cy 59 per cent were women; among the taught 56 per cent were women.

A broad system of students' stipends has enabled hundreds of women from all over the country to enter school and college and find employment upon graduation in accordance with their training.

Especially noteworthy is the system of personnel training which is known in our country as "Special Plans for the Training of Women," and which is administered jointly by the Women's Federation and the Ministry of Education. This includes evening general-education schools for housewives, the Ana Betancourt schools for peasant women, the Conrado Benitez schools for women instructors and the Makarenko Teachers College.

In the elementary, secondary, technical and higher schools, women account for 49, 55, 28.5 and 40 per cent of the enrollment respectively. At the universities women account for half the under-graduates; in the biochemistry and biology departments the proportion is still higher—60 per cent. As for the technical fields, from which women were virtually barred before the revolution, today they account for 22.7 per cent of the students majoring in them. In the agricultural sciences which are of basic importance for national advancement, women account for 35 per cent of the total enrollment.

Finally, in teacher training colleges women account for 73.7 per cent. These achievements in education within such a short period of time are internationally recognized.

Lenin pointed out that no socialist revolution could be carried out unless the overwhelming

majority of working women took part in it.

In our country there is every support for this Leninist thesis. We are preoccupied with a task of utmost importance—we seek to lift the country out of its weakly-developed state and build socialism and communism. To this end we are conducting a vast amount of work to encourage the women to take part in social production and in the administration of the state.

There is no doubt that by taking part in social production the woman will attain full emancipation. Such participation most effectively develops her mind and raises her level of consciousness, for she begins to realize that she is needed by society and is now the friend and companion, no longer the slave, of the man, with whom she shares the common cares and joys of work.

In April 1961, shortly before the perfidious Playa Giron invasion, Major Fidel Castro proclaimed our revolution a socialist one. Faced with the danger that overshadowed the country, at a time when the bulk of the labour force had been conscripted to defend the revolution, housewives, who till then had been concerned only with their homes, went to the factories and the workshops to take the place of the men and worked, without any thought of pay, only in order that production would go on without interruption. They did the same during the Caribbean crisis of 1962, when the danger of a nuclear holocaust loomed.

Then a year later, when Hurricane Flora attacked, thanks to woman volunteers we were able to take in the crops of coffee, cotton, vegetables and fruit. In this time of trial the women matured and discharged with credit all the obligations that devolved upon them.

But women have volunteered for work not only in times of crisis. Indeed, in the long and difficult struggle for economic advancement this has become a daily necessity. At the same time it represents one of the factors that serve to involve women in production as paid workers. Voluntary labour assumes particular significance in the effort to build up the economy and help the people develop a revolutionary outlook. In 1969 the members of the Cuban Women's Federation, housewives for the most part, worked a total of more than 20 million hours on the fields of farming co-operatives, in industry and in the public services.

Before the revolution Cuba, a weakly developed country, had about 700,000 jobless people, of whom about 300,000 found seasonal work during sugar-cane harvesting.

As the revolution gained strength numerous economic plans were put into effect, and this eventually did away with full or part-time unemployment. In the ten years ending 1968 about one million people, of whom more than a quarter were women, received employment.

In our country women are finding a wide field for the application of their energies. They are recruited for work in the rapidly developing agriculture, which is laying the foundations for future industrialization. Meanwhile in industry women account for one-fifth of the labour force. In other fields the percentages are as follows: 33.9 per cent in trade, 68 per cent in education and culture, 52 per cent in the public services, 34 per cent in transport and communications, and 25 per cent in the agencies of administration and finance. Thus one may conclude that women are

making a tremendous contribution to the development of the Cuban economy.

Our plans call for the enlisting of 100,000 women annually in production work and the public services, with the aim of bringing the total up to one million by 1975.

Speaking of women taking part in work, Lenin noted that the idea was not to make the woman and the man equal from the standpoint of labour productivity, the amount of work done, the time spent in work, and the working conditions, but to see that the woman was not economically discriminated against. This principle of Lenin's is implemented in our country.

Following a study of the conditions on the job for working women, which was conducted jointly by our Federation and the Ministry of Labour, two decisions were taken, one defining the type of occupations and posts in which women could be employed, and the other forbidding the employment of women in certain types of work. These measures have effectively served to protect working women on the job.

Premier Fidel Castro said in this connection: "As nature has set certain differences, so must society make certain distinctions of a social, not legal, moral or mental, character. Since the woman discharges the most important social function, that of procreation, it is only logical and just to take this paramount social function into account, and thus, give the woman protection, help and support, as well as the possibility of participating in production, in the creation of material values and in social affairs, in doing what she is able to do."

Lenin analyzed in detail the factors that rest-

rict and complicate the effort to encourage women to participate in social labour, and called for the reorganization of routine housekeeping work into a large-scale socialist economy.

Our revolutionary government maintains that a crucial task which society must accomplish for the woman's benefit, is to do everything it can to lighten household chores and the rearing of children. With this aim in mind the Women's Federation has organized a national administration of nurseries and kindergartens. Over recent years we have started more than 400 such institutions where children are tended, fed and clothed free of charge. Many school and factory canteens have also been started, and this has, naturally, eased the woman's burden of household chores. A system of stipends has been introduced; now about 30,000 persons receive free tuition, study aids, meals, clothing and medical assistance.

However, we have not been able to set up enough children's institutions and public services to meet the needs arising from the fact that more and more women are being employed. We shall continue the effort in the years to come to do away with the restrictions that complicate the effort to draw women into social labour.

In our socialist society the woman not only works but has every opportunity to display her abilities in all spheres of national life through such mass organizations that direct the mass enthusiasm toward support of the revolution as the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution, the trade union movement, the movement of advanced factory workers and the teams providing assistance in farming.

Thanks to the high levels reached in their ide-

ological education women have been able to take part in carrying out the tasks of the administration of state affairs and to assume high office in the armed forces and in the agencies of national security.

More and more women are joining the ranks of the Young Communist League and the Communist Party, the vanguard of the nation.

As mother and worker the woman plays the most important role in the rearing of the young generation. To discharge this noble mission the mother must herself set the example, be rid of the survivals of capitalist society and dedicate herself to securing not only the happiness of her children and her country, but also that of all who still suffer from poverty and exploitation, ready to make sacrifices, if necessary, to achieve this end, being deeply convinced that all mankind means still more than the Motherland.

We must develop and acquire all the qualities of the new man about whom our unforgettable Che Guevara, whose name the Cuban youth carry forward as their banner in their struggle for liberation, had spoken.

The Cubans and the Cuban women pay homage to Lenin; this is expressed in our having driven out for ever the imperialist enemy from our country, in our having done away with the exploitation of man by man, and having embarked upon the building of socialism and communism. In following this course we shall achieve the genuine emancipation of women.

Cuban women are ready to join the struggle of the oppressed nations, and voice their profound admiration for the people of Vietnam in

their heroic struggle, a people, who carrying Lenin's behests on high, are fighting against US imperialism with all their strength.

On behalf of the women of Cuba, the first socialist country on the American continent, we wish to convey our gratitude to the Soviet people, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to Soviet women, to all women in the socialist countries, to all women taking part in the revolutionary movement for their solidarity with our revolution.

*GUSTA FUCIKOVÁ, Chairman of
the Women's Council of Czechoslovakia (CSR)*

The Role of Women in Socialist Czechoslovakia

We cannot consider the question of the place of women in society without studying the historical development and social problems of our society as a whole. There doesn't exist an unchanging type of woman. Time and society make a woman what she is. Everything depends on the opportunities which she has had or which she has been deprived of, and on the extent to which she has not been free either to think or to act. There does not exist a stereotyped pattern of woman, either. Women differ according to the class to which they belong. Conversely the pattern of society depends on the role played in it by women.

The measure of women's freedom is a measure of the freedom of society. This is no new discovery, having been said long ago by Fourier. But neither he, nor other socialist-utopians, nor the Great French Revolution could free women.

For a long time the question of women's rights was considered without regard to its relation to other problems. After the radical changes in society which took place in the 19th century, Marxism-Leninism showed the close relations between the position of women and social problems. There was a great need for workers because of the rapid development of industry. Women came to the factories. One might think that this would result in women having equal rights with men. But in fact a new process had begun, which was quite different from the previous one and which was to take decades to complete. At the same time, a new view came to be taken of the position of women. Women's rights began to be considered in conjunction with the social problems of the time. Finally, a clearer picture emerged of the plight of the woman worker, who had to do hard work in the fields all day long and at 30 was already an old woman, who struggled daily to provide her children with clothes and food and had to eke out a living on the small salary of her husband.

Marx, Engels and Lenin showed the way to free woman from her hopeless position. This could be accomplished only through the labour movement which, alone, was in a position to understand women's demands and take action in support of them.

Engels pointed out the close connection between women's place in society and the history

of private property. After a century of slavery, the industrial revolution had again revived the idea of women's emancipation.

Marx provided a detailed analysis of the position of women in capitalist society showing how the fine, moral qualities that are part of woman's nature become the means of her enslavement and suffering.

Also, let us recall the phrase which ends Bebel's book *Woman and Socialism*: "The future belongs to Socialism, that is, primarily, to the worker and to woman."

Lenin always spoke about working women as belonging to the oppressed and exploited section of society, and defended them and their rights to freedom and democracy just as he defended the other members of the oppressed classes. He put the question of women's freedom on the same level as that of the freedom of workers and peasants. "There is no real freedom, nor can there be, so long as women are handicapped by men's legal privileges, so long as there is no freedom for the worker from the yoke of capital, no freedom for the labouring peasant from the yoke of the capitalist landowner and merchant."

Lenin in his study of the position of women exposed the falsity and hypocrisy of bourgeois society. Capitalist propaganda accused the young Soviet republic of betraying freedom and democracy, declaring that only in bourgeois society could there be freedom and democracy for everybody, including women. But Lenin showed that bourgeois democracy had failed to provide equality for women. It had not given equal rights to men and women, and women continued to

be economically dependent on men and to be discriminated against.

The women's movement in Czechoslovakia fully proved the truth of Lenin's teachings, and even added new material. One point must be stressed here: the real possibility of freeing Czech and Slovak women appeared when the struggle for their right to work and for their independence became a part of the whole social struggle of the working class.

The progressive women's emancipation movement in Czechoslovakia has fine traditions. We were fortunate in that the movement was headed by educated women from the working class. They understood the danger of an emancipation movement which opposes women to men and speaks primarily in the interests of women in high society. With such a movement, the interests of the most exploited women are not taken into consideration. The following remark of well-known Czech teacher, Jan Amos Komensky, refers to Czech and Slovak women: "Women are gifted with just as much wisdom and ability to learn as men, and quite often, even more so."

Following the Great October Socialist Revolution, Lenin spoke about women's activities as being one of the most important means of achieving equality for women. The history of the Czech and Slovak women's movement is marked by periods of high activity, especially in the twenties of this century when a revolutionary wave swept the world as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In the Second World War the women of Czechoslovakia joined in the struggle against fascism. They took part in the underground move-

ment and fought in the partisan forces. They were in the Czechoslovak Corps, which was formed in the USSR to fight the fascist army.

The freeing of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army in May, 1945, meant just as much to Czechoslovak women as the Great October Revolution did to Russian women.

May, 1945, and the year 1948, when the construction of socialism began in Czechoslovakia, were turning points in the movement for women's equality. Their rights and duties were established by law.

Czechoslovak women now have equal rights with men in the family and society, equal access to education and various professions, and equal opportunities to hold public posts. Marriage, family and maternity are under state care. Under the law, all children have the same rights. The former differences in the rights of children born in or out of wedlock have been abolished. New laws are being introduced all the time. One of the most important of them gives women the right to decide whether to have a child or not.

The socialist state provides for special care for mothers. Expectant mothers are transferred to easier jobs without any loss of salary, and while off work prior to childbirth, and for up to 26 months afterwards, are paid subsidies. Mothers also have the right to return to their former job after a two-year period of leave. There are special allowances for large families and lower taxes. Education up to 15 years of age is free. Higher, specialized secondary education and vocational training are also free. Students receive government stipends.

The state provides large sums of money for

creches and kindergartens and for the maintenance of students of vocational schools, and higher and specialized secondary educational establishments.

Allowances for large families, free education and free medical care have done away with insecurity and relieved women of the strain that used to be their lot.

All these developments resulted in more women joining the industrial work force. They began to work in new fields as well as in the more traditional ones. The greater proportion of women are employed in the retailing industry and accounting, in public catering, in medicine, in cultural and educational life, in the servicing industries and in the field of communications. A large number of women also work in research institutions and in the field of transport. The achievements made in agriculture depend to a large extent on the work of women. Women occupy important public and administrative posts. Our women's organization today is an equal partner with other public organizations which comprise the National Front. It takes an active part in solving problems of concern to women.

More and more women regard their jobs not so much as a source of money, but as the main purpose in their lives. Work has become a necessity for them. It provides an opportunity to do something worth-while and heightens one's self-respect.

Today nothing can bring the women of Czechoslovakia back into a state of dependence, back to a feeling of inferiority.

Women's most cherished dreams are coming

true under socialism. A new step in the struggle for modern woman, for her happiness is being taken. Many problems have been solved in the years of socialist construction. But changing life brings new problems.

In 1953, after five years of socialism in Czechoslovakia, we had 1,135 creches which could accommodate 33,357 children. Today there are twice as many but even so they can take care of only 10 per cent of the children under three years of age. There just aren't enough creches to meet the demand. That is why our government has for the time being adopted the following measure. Mothers who are bringing up two or more children, and who were previously working, are paid a subsidy of 500 korunas a month for each child until he is one year old. If the mother herself stays with the children, she is paid after the birth of her first child. We have quite a number of creches where parents pay only part of the children's food bill. The amount the parents pay depends on their salaries.

Schoolchildren whose mothers work, spend a lot of their after-school time in "youth groups." But we should pay even more attention to the children and youngsters so that family and group upbringing can complement each other.

More and more laundries, dry-cleaning establishments, house-cleaning services, home kitchens, and school lunch services are appearing each year.

In this way socialist institutions are helping to ease many family problems.

But Czech and Slovak women still have the problem of further emancipating themselves

from housework and thus of gaining additional time for rest and for cultural pursuits. It is necessary to make living conditions such that there is no need to cook all meals at home, or for women to spend all their time in washing, or cleaning the apartment, if they can do more productive work.

In fact, in our country women work 25 per cent more hours than men. Today the problem of equality has been transferred from the sphere of employment to family life—to after-hours work.

The new appliances to aid housework and the development of home services will help solve this problem. We plan to help women mainly by organizing more home services and by further developing industries to manufacture appliances which make housework easier, by using the modern achievements of chemistry, machine-building industry and electrical engineering.

The further development of socialism in Czechoslovakia, the strengthening of the socialist community, and unbreakable alliance with the USSR and other socialist countries, the spreading of the international movement against imperialism and the growing movement for world peace are the foundations guaranteeing a revolutionary solution to the main problems to be overcome to ensure the emancipation of working women.

The women of Czechoslovakia give full support to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which is in the forefront of the struggle for women's equality in society. They support the socialist state, the revolutionary ideas of Lenin-

ism and the international unity of the socialist countries.

I see before me countless faces of well-known and not so well-known Soviet women, who during the terrible war with fascism replaced men, doing hard work at the factories, in the fields, and in transport. They played a vital role in helping to destroy the fascists. In your faces, my dear Soviet women, I see the faces of young women-partisans, I see girls in the Soviet Army who 25 years ago freed Czechoslovakia. Thousands of young Soviet women are among the 140 thousand Soviet soldiers who sacrificed their lives in my homeland during the struggle.

The Soviet Union and Soviet women played a tremendous part in the liberation of my dear Motherland.

Two worlds—the world of socialism and the world to imperialism—now confront each other on Czechoslovakia's western border. The vitality and everlasting nature of the ideas of socialism are manifest in this struggle. In the severe fight with the Czechoslovakian right-wing opportunists who tried to undermine socialism with the active support of world imperialism the socialist forces prevailed. These forces see in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and in friendship with the Soviet Union a guarantee of further socialist development and uncompromising struggle against imperialism.

Among these sound Czechoslovak socialist forces are hundreds of thousands of workers, farmers and honest representatives of the intelligentsia who admire the achievements of Soviet women. They admire their outstanding qualities as representatives of socialist society, their heroic

nature, courage, dedication, high level of education and political consciousness and deep understanding of international proletarian solidarity, and their experience in bringing up the youth in the socialist way. All of these attributes serve as a worthy example for all Czechoslovakian women.

JULIA TURGONYI, senior scientific worker at the Hungarian Social Sciences Research Institute (Hungarian People's Republic)

Some of the Problems in Hungary Concerning Women's Place in Society

The last 50 years of the 20th century have seen the emancipation of many peoples, including the emancipation of women. As a result of the ideological, educational and organizational activities of Communist and Workers' Parties, hundreds of millions of women became politically conscious. Women took part in the working-class struggle and in the struggle of their people for freedom and for the victory of socialism.

Lenin warned women, fighting for their emancipation, against the danger of their estrangement from the main interests and demands of the working class to which they belonged. The party of the proletariat always considered it as one of the main tasks to enlist women in the political struggle. In 1919 Lenin wrote that the success of the revolution would depend to a great degree on the extent of the participation of the

women. The independence movements of our time have confirmed the truth of this statement.

Lenin warned that granting political rights to women did not necessarily mean that women exercised these rights. For these rights to have any real meaning women, as well as men, must have political experience. Lenin wrote in 1920: "The participation of women in Party and Soviet activities has acquired a gigantic significance today, when the war has ended, and the peaceful work of organization has—for a long time to come, as I hope—advanced into the foreground. In this work the women must play a leading part, and will, of course do so."

History has confirmed Lenin's words. Emancipated daughters of the Soviet people, women and girls, have played and are now playing an outstanding role in the struggle for the victory of socialism and communism. Their example inspires hundreds of millions of women throughout the world.

Twenty-five years ago the Hungarian people, after centuries of struggle, achieved their long awaited freedom as the result of the heroic victory of the Soviet Army, of the sons and daughters of the Soviet people. Before this time Hungarian workers were practically without political rights, and the position with regard to women was even worse. The majority of Hungarian women did not have the right to vote. A bill providing for corporal punishment for women was even discussed in the Hungarian bourgeois parliament. Progressive-minded workers, peasants and intellectuals, among them courageous women, members of the Communist Party and trade unions, who were not afraid of political per-

secution and jails, fought for a new and better life in the country.

In the first days after the freeing of Hungary, even before the law providing for the equality of women was adopted, the Communist Party took resolute steps to give every woman the right to vote during the first free elections. The Party, with complete confidence, urged Hungarian women to join its ranks. The policy of the Party found a favourable response among millions of our women.

Since then, we have made much progress. The policy of the Party and its practical activity have convinced the man and women of Hungary that the equality of women is a matter of vital concern to our society—that democratic and then socialist development cannot be accomplished without women's constructive energy. By setting women free to employ this energy society and the whole country become infinitely richer.

The public and political activity of our women has grown immeasurably. There are 69 women among the 349 deputies to the State Assembly, the highest legislative body in our country. Nearly one in five members of local councils, from village to regional level, are women. Some of the chairmen of executive committees in city and village councils are women. Their work is highly regarded. Many women occupy important posts in various Party bodies. There are women ministers and women deputy-ministers in Hungary. Women perform a variety of public and state work and enjoy the confidence of the people.

Millions of Hungarian women are engaged in

political and public activities in trade unions and women's organizations. Today we seldom hear remarks about women being born with the ability to do only certain kinds of work. The many outstanding women in our society and the great variety of work performed by women refute this statement.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has always paid special attention to, directed and encouraged the growth of the women's movement. In its discussion of political, economic and social problems as they affect women in Hungary, the Central Committee of the Party shows that it considers the question of the further development of women's rights to be one of foremost importance.

We should look into the reasons for the fact that in the primary, basic echelons of political and economic work the number of working women is very high, but on the higher levels the number of women is very low. In some instances, their number is so low that it is difficult to find an explanation. Some say that this is because the role that can be played by women is underestimated. Others say that women are not suited to work carrying high responsibility. A third group thinks that women haven't grown up enough, a fourth that they don't want to occupy high posts themselves. There are also some people who maintain that women must first gain experience, holding minor posts, and after that the best can be promoted. All these views may have a little truth in them, but to my mind only a little. The real reason can be found in the answers which we received from working women in a sociological experiment. Many of

them pointed out that public work requires additional time, and spare time is just what mothers and housewives do not have, even those whose homes are reasonably well equipped with modern house-keeping facilities.

It is generally considered that men, who are used to having more freedom to organize their spare time, are in a better position to engage in public and political activities. Political and public activities in primary organizations such as in factories do not require as much time as in the higher organizations. The call for each person to engage in self-education and systematically work to improve his mind takes much time. That is why women and young mothers who work, do housework and also bring up children, avoid getting involved in broader public activities and sometimes even cut down on their former political activities. Young husbands, on the other hand, are able to continue to make progress and develop their abilities.

We must find new opportunities to raise the level of the participation of our women in public and political activities.

We must analyze our experience in the management of the economic and political life of our country and use this knowledge to remove any obstacles which might be encountered in the future and to make more effective use of what is new.

We, who know the happiness of taking part in the struggle for progress to further develop society, should continue our work as Lenin taught us, so that ever more women can experience the great satisfaction of having worked to further progress and help mankind.

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Scientific and Technological Progress and Some Questions Relating to the Employment of Women in the USSR

The scientific and technological revolution, which began to develop in the main starting with the second half of the 20th century, is a complex process which affects the whole field of social relations.

The social results of scientific and technological progress differ in principle according to the mode of production and the conditions under which it is carried out.

When introducing new techniques and improving the technology of production, the socialist state bears in mind not only the economic consequences of these processes but their social effect as well: the lightening of the work load, shorter working hours, higher level of skills, and the creation of conditions for eliminating the differences between manual and mental work.

Of course, all the members of socialist society, including women, benefit from the introduction of new technology.

Scientific and technological progress, automation of production and the mechanization of

arduous jobs offer greater possibilities for the employment of women in production and introduce considerable changes in the occupational pattern of employment of women.

Mechanization and automation of production fundamentally alter the character and content of labour. The productivity of labour now depends not so much on the physical strength of the worker as on his knowledge and ability to organize his work and employ modern technology in the most effective way. At automated enterprises the quality of work done by women is as good as that done by men.

In the Soviet Union a large proportion of workers in the national economy are women. Hence, the scientific and technological revolution is leading to the redistribution of women among the various branches of the economy, with increasing numbers being employed in the highly mechanized and automated industries.

Besides giving women more jobs, scientific and technological progress is demanding better general educational training and higher levels of skill of all workers, including women, for technological progress is entirely dependent upon the achievements of science and on the ability of the work force to put them into practice.

The time taken to introduce into production the latest inventions in the fields of electronics and electrical engineering (the branches where women are most widely employed) is now becoming much shorter.

Are our women equipped to take part in production in the conditions of the scientific and technological revolution?

The Soviet state has always considered the raising of the educational level of women to be a matter of great social and political importance. Also, the technological retooling of production is closely tied up with the raising of the educational standard and level of skill of all workers, including women.

The Leningrad Research Institute of Vocational Training is now engaged in drawing up a draft programme for the vocational training of young people in the country, which will be of decisive importance for ensuring an adequate supply of highly-skilled workers for the national economy. In 1969, at twenty-two Leningrad textile factories which employ mainly women, 33 per cent of workers improved their qualifications by attending factory apprenticeship schools, schools of advanced experience, vocational courses, or by means of individual or team training at their place of work.

The system of general educational and vocational training of workers provides skilled workers to staff those sections of production where modern technology is introduced. But we cannot say that all problems in this field have already been solved.

The advantages and opportunities of the socialist mode of production are not always used to the full. Numerous studies have shown that women still lag behind men in the matter of working skills. The number of women who have qualified in leading branches of automated production is relatively small.

At some enterprises such a situation can be explained partly by the relatively lower level of skill of women workers, but also by prejudice

on the part of some managers.

In addition, the studies show that the extent to which women participate in production, their cultural development and the raising of their technological qualifications, depend on the amount of free time available to them for study.

Special surveys carried out at various enterprises in the Soviet Union have confirmed that although women have the same working hours as men, they still have considerably less free time. This means that it is much more difficult for women to raise the level of their skills, or improve their qualifications.

It is clear that the question of the large-scale training of highly-skilled women workers is inseparably linked with the further development of services, public catering and the further provision of crèches, kindergartens, etc.

Social planning is of the greatest importance in the training of a skilled work force in which women will play a full role. In this respect the experience of Leningrad enterprises, which have elaborated and implemented long-term plans for social development of their collectives of workers, is of particular interest. These plans, which accord with the plans for development and perfection of production, include measures for raising the educational, professional and cultural level of workers and for improving working conditions and every-day amenities, etc.

Because the scientific and technological progress reduces the number of workers needed in a given industry, there must be a properly organized system of re-training.

The plans of social development are designed to co-ordinate the programme of professional

training with the programme of technological progress, thus providing skilled workers for the newly automated and re-tooled sections of production.

The plans for vocational training at each enterprise also provide for the raising of the general educational level of workers. The long-term plan of social development being implemented at Leningrad's "Svetlana" combined enterprises has brought about noticeable annual changes in the socio-economic and professional composition of the workers' collective: the number of unskilled workers is gradually decreasing, while the number of skilled workers is growing.

Not only industrial, but also agricultural enterprises are undertaking complex social planning.

In compiling these plans all necessary factors relating to the employment of women are taken into consideration.

The effect of the scientific and technological revolution on the employment of women in the national economy and on social and everyday conditions as they affect working women, raises a whole complex of socio-economic, technical and physiological problems, the solution of which requires joint research by economists, sociologists, physiologists, psychologists, engineers, etc.

The co-ordination of efforts and experience in the solution of these problems within the framework of the countries of the socialist community would be of great benefit to all member states. An example of such co-operation is the joint work that we are undertaking with our Polish colleagues.

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The Yugoslav Woman's Part in Social Life

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution, led by Lenin, disclosed new, hitherto unknown opportunities for socialist revolutionary activity and construction. Throughout the world, millions of working people embarked upon the path of building socialism. In the struggle for socialism, that new and much higher phase of social, political and economic development, women, in a number of countries, have been playing an active role, in a way never seen before in any other period of history. They have been putting all their energy and strength of will into the revolutionary movement, striving to realize the noble and just aims of the new society.

In each country, the part played by women in building socialism varies in form—one more instance of the truth of Lenin's thesis as to the different trends of socialist transformation. It is in this light that one should consider the experience accumulated by the women's movement in socialist Yugoslavia in the effort to build an independent and just society.

The socio-political foundation of socialist democracy in Yugoslavia consists in workers' self-government as represented by workers' coun-

cils, communes and other bodies of self-government, in which all citizens and public organizations concerned participate. By creating this social pattern of self-government, the Yugoslav League of Communists has sought to realize the thesis of Marx and Lenin regarding the withering away of the state under socialism and the establishment of a society of free producers, who at the same time control the surplus value resulting from their work.

The contribution of Yugoslav women to the development of the whole system of self-governing socialism is deserving of special mention as, besides taking part in production, they are the guardians of socialist social relations. In this, experience has confirmed Lenin's thesis that the working woman must have equal rights with her husband, not only in law but also in practice. Hence, working women should participate more intensively in the management of socially-owned enterprises and the administration of the state.

With the development of self-government and implementation of the economic reform, producers in all spheres of the economy are controlling an ever increasing proportion of their profits and are themselves deciding all the questions connected with their means of livelihood. Women are playing an increasingly impressive role in both law-making and self-governing bodies. This is an essential condition if the numerous social issues of major concern to women are to be tackled successfully. They want their part in the agencies of self-government to fully accord with their role in socio-economic and political affairs. This approach is reflected in the documents of the 9th Congress of the Yugoslav

League of Communists, which call for the more rapid advancement of self-governing socialism and for women's enhanced participation in this process. It was specially noted that the League would in future pay still greater attention to the question of securing full equal rights for women. It was pointed out at the Congress that there was a growing contradiction between women's increasing participation in industry, farming, the health service, education and other fields, and her diminishing representation in self-governing and other bodies. It was vital, it was declared, for the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance and all politically conscious social forces to take more decisive ideological and political action so as to overcome this disparity, which was so damaging to women's social status. It was likewise essential, it was said, for women to be more actively involved in social, political and workers' organizations, so that they would be in a better position to respond to the social issues of the moment and to take steps, themselves, to improve their personal and social position in society.

The aim of the Communist League's decisions and of what is now being done is to make the participation of women in bodies of self-government correspond to the part they already play in the national economy.

More and more women, while working at their regular jobs, are also taking an active part in social and political affairs, mostly within the Socialist Alliance of Working People, which, as the broadest of all civic forums and the largest body of self-government, formulates policy with regard to all important questions concerning the

social and political life of the country. Incorporated within the Alliance is the Conference on Women's Social Activity, whose place, role and scope of activity are defined in the Alliance's Statutes as for a specialized public agency. The Conference, which is sponsored by women's sections, clubs and centres, considers and studies problems pertaining to the status of women. The Croatian and Zagreb Women's Social Centre is doing very useful work. The same can be said of socially active women's groups in the country-side.

As active participants in the armed struggle for national liberation, and imbued with the ideals of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the progressive working-class movement, Yugoslav women understood; even as early as the period of the country's rebirth, that work is the basis of a person's social and material existence under socialism.

In Yugoslavia today upwards of one million women are employed in industry and the social services. Another three million work on the farms and on their own household plots. Since the end of the war the employment of women in production has been climbing swiftly. With the switch, in 1965, from extensive to intensive work, the whole question of employment, and of the employment of women, in particular, was seen in a new light. Today we have adopted a policy which, while slowing down the rate of growth of employment, concentrates on quality and skilled labour. Hence, the standard of general and specialized education and the skills of working women largely determine their status in production and the jobs they are allotted. We are doing

much to raise the skills of working women. The statistics show that the number of working women with a higher or specialized education has increased markedly.

Practically all of Yugoslavia's young women receive an elementary schooling and there is an increasing proportion of girls at technical schools and at colleges, especially in geodesy, agriculture, geology, metallurgy and similar fields, where there were none before. Women comprise 38 per cent of the total of night-school and correspondence students.

The growing economic emancipation of women is having a beneficial influence on family relations.

A self-governing society demands that women be freed from the everyday obligations, both big and small, of home and motherhood. Assistance in this direction is therefore being organized for working families, especially those with children.

In recent years various measures of a socio-economic character have been taken to hasten progress in the field of child welfare. As an expression of working-class solidarity a special levy on income was introduced to go towards a child-welfare fund. Meanwhile communes have assigned additional resources which, together with money from other sources, will provide a still better material basis for child-welfare work. Child welfare is the concern of the whole of society, and the League of Communists is doing all it can to implement the decisions of workers' and other representative bodies. As Comrade Tito noted at the League's 9th Congress: "The more rapid provision of day institutions to care for children of pre-school age, the extended day

at elementary schools, the matter of better food for children, and well-organized work among and for children, must all serve, as far as our material resources allow, to create the conditions required for preparing the younger generation for life."

The enlistment of research and specialized institutions and services in drafting the programme of mother-and-child welfare helps to ensure that the measures included in the programme are handled in the most rational way. Meanwhile workers' organizations are paying increasing heed to the problems associated with the care and upbringing of children and are allocating more money for this purpose. We are developing new and far broader possibilities for tackling the questions associated with mother-and-child care and family welfare.

In conformity with the policy of the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance our women have always fought for aims that are in the interests and which meet the aspirations of the progressive circles of the world. They have established contacts with some 70 national and 40 international organizations and specialized institutions dealing with questions concerning the position of women, child care and family welfare, thereby providing much wider opportunities for work on an international scale. New vistas have opened up for an equal and democratic exchange of views and for the clarification of attitudes—all of which unquestionably serve to further strengthen the progressive forces of the world.

In Lenin's words, "to seek out, investigate, predict, and grasp that which is nationally spe-

cific and nationally distinctive, in the *concrete manner* in which each country should tackle a *single international task*", is of the most meaningful and practical importance for the establishment of ties and contacts between all progressive forces in international society today.

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The Role of Soviet Trade Unions in Work Safety and Health Protection for Working Women

The Soviet trade unions, as the USSR's biggest workers' organization, contribute substantially to the solution of problems concerning the welfare of women.

Being, according to Lenin's definition, a school of communism, a school of management and a school of administration working under Party leadership and in close touch with the government, the trade unions discharge three main functions. These are: first, to rally the working people in the effort to shape a new life and carry out plans for building communism, second, to actively work to raise levels of ideological and political awareness and give every person the feeling that he is master of his enterprise and his country; and, third, to uphold workers' interests, and, primarily, concern themselves with

the conditions of work, daily life and leisure for all factory and office workers.

Soviet trade unions are entitled to represent factory and office workers in all bodies of government, actively participate in the examination of matters relating to the organization of labour and production and to the arrangement of cultural and general amenities and public services, and take an active hand in the drafting and debating of economic development plans. Nothing that concerns the work and everyday life of working people is ever decided without trade-union participation. Women play a big part in union activities. Nearly all working women are union members, and many have been elected to leading union posts. At factory and farm level and in the various administrative divisions we have women's commissions which do a lot of useful work among women on a voluntary, unpaid, part-time basis. The Commission for Work among Women that is attached to the Presidium of our All-Union Council is organized on this same pattern. Comprised of both leading public figures and ordinary working women, it drafts and puts forward proposals designed to improve conditions for work, everyday life and leisure for working women and to help put into effect the decisions that the Communist Party and Soviet Government may take with these aims in view.

By displaying special concern for women, and for safe working conditions and health protection for them, the unions are energetically facilitating the practice of genuine equality for women, and providing conditions enabling women to combine a job with motherhood.

Soviet labour legislation, which the unions take a direct hand in drafting, establishes special safety rules for women that provide for women's work to be suited to women's capacities and take due consideration of the needs of mother-and-child care and of woman's role in the home. For example, it is forbidden to employ women on particularly arduous jobs or jobs that are a hazard to health. A ceiling is imposed on the weights that a woman worker may lift, carry or otherwise move on the job. There are special guarantees concerning the right to work of pregnant women, and of women with children. The refusal to employ or the dismissal of a pregnant woman, is a punishable crime under law. Pregnant women and nursing mothers are not allowed to work overtime or to be employed on night-shift. Nor can they be employed on work which necessitates their absence from home. After the fourth month of pregnancy they may ask for lighter work, without any loss of pay.

Trade-union bodies at all levels, but, first and foremost, the factory trade-union committees, constantly supervise industrial hygiene, labour safety and all other related matters, and constantly improve the public services provided for women. To carry out this task the unions maintain what is known as a "technical inspectorate", which Lenin considered especially important. The edict on the setting up of this body was among the first labour decrees that he signed. In addition, some two and a half million employees, including women, act as part-time unpaid inspectors or sit on labour safety commissions under the factory trade-union committees. They assist the inspectorate to ensure that nothing

infringes women's working rights. Managements are forced to comply with all the demands made by these inspectors concerning violations of the legislation. The union inspector may shut down a newly constructed or renovated industrial plant, factory or shop should it fail to comply with the established norms of industrial hygiene and labour safety.

Besides seeing that existing laws are observed, the unions likewise exercise their right of legislative initiative to put before the USSR Supreme Soviet and other top bodies of government bills and proposals for improvements in the conditions of work, life, leisure, and the medical services for working women. For example, since three-quarters of the labour force employed in the textile industry are women, the USSR Council of Ministers, on the initiative of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions, adopted a special decision to improve working conditions in this industry. As a result a great deal has been done to reorganize work, to introduce more up-to-date equipment, to install better air conditioners, fans and lighting fixtures, and to do related research. Over the past three years more than 250 million roubles has been spent on improving working conditions in this industry.

The unions had a direct hand in such a major government undertaking, again effected to improve health protection, as the switchover to a five-day week, with two days off.

We noted earlier that an important part of the work of the unions is to develop the best working conditions possible, especially for women. The collective agreements that the unions conclude annually with the factory manage-

ments have a special section specifying what should be done to improve the working and living conditions of women employees. Besides outlining measures to introduce more automation and mechanization, and better ventilation and lighting, and to improve qualifications, mention will necessarily be made of how many new showers, washrooms and other facilities must be made available on the job, how many new laundry and dry-cleaning depots are to be opened, and so on.

An outstanding feature of the Soviet system of labour protection is that it is based on a strictly scientific footing. The related research is done by 30 special institutes, of which six are under AUCCTU, upwards of 150 laboratories, and 220 university and college departments. The AUCCTU institute in the major textile centre of Ivanovo specializes in research in the sphere of labour protection for women workers.

Let me note that in the USSR the effort to improve working conditions and labour safety for all employees, women and men, is a major concern of the state and one of the requirements laid down in the Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. State appropriations for this purpose are growing every year —reaching more than one thousand million roubles in 1969 alone. In addition, upwards of 40 million employees, or one out of every two workers, gets free work clothes, etc., which costs the state another thousand million roubles.

The unions do all they can to look after the health of working mothers and their children, setting up factory polyclinics and health centres, mainly for the purpose of disease prevention.

Their gynecologists, surgeons, oncologists and other specialists provide systematic medical checkups for all women employees.

Another means of promoting good health is the system of overnight prophylactic centres. These are to be found at many factories and state farms. Here, either completely at union expense or for a purely nominal sum, the worker spends his non-working hours for a whole month under medical supervision, with the required treatment and diet included. There are 1,700 of these centres at present maintained by the unions, and they cater annually for more than a million employees, of whom half are women. There are plans to open another 250 such centres in the near future.

The unions also run some 3,000 health and holiday homes and guest hotels which accommodate upwards of eight million people every year. Moreover, since mothers usually wish to spend their holidays with their children, the unions have organized special holiday homes for this purpose. But since there are still not enough of these to cope with the demand, the unions are increasing their allocations every year for the construction of more facilities.

Tourist excursions and hiking trips, also conducted under union auspices, are swiftly gaining in popularity.

As far as the rising generation is concerned, more than seven million schoolchildren spend their summer holidays in the Young Pioneer camps and other out-of-town holiday places maintained by the unions. These include health camps for children in poor health, which in the

summer of 1969 accommodated more than 120,000 children.

The funds for all that the unions do in their efforts to provide working women with the healthiest conditions on the job, and in general, look after their health, come from the state social insurance budget, which is completely and democratically administered by the unions, with the active participation of the working people. In the USSR social insurance is fully covered by the state, as Lenin first proposed it should be, and every working person without exception is provided for. In 1970 alone this budget ran into 16,300 million roubles, and a good part of this was spent on caring for working women and their children.

In recent years, as a result of the economic reform effected by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, more funds have been made available for improving conditions for working women. For instance, there are the funds for social and cultural purposes and for the construction of housing that have been built up at those enterprises which have switched to the new system of planning and economic incentives. These funds, which are expended in accordance with estimates endorsed by the management in conjunction with the trade-union committee, run into hundreds of millions of roubles, much of which has already been well spent in building new health and holiday homes, tourist and sports centres, Young Pioneer camps and other facilities.

Soviet trade unions consider that one of their most important duties is to help provide women

with working conditions which make work a source of pleasure and inspiration. They take pride in doing their utmost to carry out all that Lenin advised be done to guard the health of women, and provide them with the best possible conditions for work.

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The New Social Status of Village Women in People's Poland

I would like to note a few of the historico-sociological factors which are an expression of the changed social status of the peasant women of Poland.

Poland has traditionally been a land of small closed communities, in which manual labour accordingly moulded the human individual and social values. For the peasant woman social isolation was twofold. It reduced her sphere of activity to a minimum and turned her into a worker wholly subordinated to the farming regimen.

As a result of the women's movement and the activities of rural youth organizations, to which a number of girls belonged, the more advanced groups of village women began to break out of this cocoon even before the Second World War. In the years of nazi occupation large numbers of

Polish peasant women participated in the resistance movement, sharing the common historical fate of the entire nation.

However, the status of the Polish peasant woman really began to change on a large scale only as the outcome of basic social and economic changes, the demolition of class barriers and the elimination of rural isolation in the widespread process of industrialization and urbanization. The influence of the industrial urban centres on the previously secluded rural communities is demonstrated by the changed occupational pattern of the population. According to the 1960 census, only 38.4 per cent of the population were engaged in agriculture, as against the 62 per cent before the war, and in subsequent years, the proportion has still further diminished. Further, in assessing the new status of the peasant women, we must also take into account the structure of Poland's agriculture. We have three types of farms: state farms, co-operatives and private holdings. But the many private smallholders and their families are involved in the entire system of socialist state economy through the peasant unions, the supply and marketing co-operatives and other organizations, and, hence, in accordance with Lenin's plan for co-operation, are on the way to a socialist mode of production.

I shall deal here mainly with the women working on the private holdings. The results obtained are based on sociological studies conducted in the countryside.

The process of the breaking down of the old wall of isolation with the consequent develop-

ment of a national mentality and way of life, can be most distinctly traced against the background of the changed life of today's village youth, for whom there no longer exists the cultural division into squire and peasant, and whose urge for equality and self-assertion is no longer associated with the traditional set of values of the closed village community. They have today one uniform set of cultural values regardless of occupation or domicile. This is naturally affecting the status of the Polish peasant women, whose mental horizons are no longer confined to the home or the village at most.

Take marriage, for instance, in which the changes are most striking. What counted before was the property, not likes or dislikes. A peasant girl often had to marry a person she might even detest, solely in the interests of the farm which came first in the peasant's set of values. Today she marries for love, even though we still record cases of parents trying to force daughters to marry against their wishes. However, things are somewhat different now and a girl does not have to submit to this kind of pressure. On the contrary, she may even run away from home and break family ties. Because of the opportunities afforded by the popular government, she can now earn a living in occupations other than farming.

The equality between men and women has also affected the woman's place in the family. A husband is valued more for his personal merits, ethical outlook and intellectual qualities rather than for his career or material standing. Nowadays the ideal family incorporates features hardly known before, such as mutual interests, com-

mon desires and complete understanding, getting right away from the old notion of the wife's merely being a pair of hands and a producer of children. Today the wife, in working together with her husband, seeks to be regarded as a friend and companion.

Formerly too, each child used to be regarded primarily as one more worker in the family. Although the peasant woman before may have loved her children with all her mother's heart, she was nevertheless forced by the harsh conditions then obtaining, to make them work, especially at the peak of the farming season. Today that is all a thing of the past, and peasant children lead a normal life.

On private holdings we can also observe a marked trend towards the gradual disappearance of the traditional division of work into "men's work" and "women's work." On the contrary, men are now doing much of what the women used to do, and this is naturally causing them to greatly change their attitudes. In addition, mechanization is increasing. All this, coupled with a well-developed system of services in the rural areas, such as bakeries, dairies, laundries, polyclinics, nurseries, clubs, and cinemas, enables the country woman to look after herself better, to look after her appearance and put her leisure time to good use.

The intensification of the division of labour, which is also affecting the private holdings, is giving the village woman more time for herself too.

The thing that has fundamentally altered the status of many village women is the fact that

many husbands now work in some factory or office. As a result we have today about a million holdings on which the wife manages everything. Although imposing a greater measure of responsibility, this at the same time enables the woman to develop her capabilities more fully. This increases her social standing and elevates her to the position of a fully equal partner in marriage.

Nowadays a wife often decides matters in the home by herself, if not together with her husband. As a result of the greatly altered pattern in the family today, the village woman is able, to a far greater extent than ever before, to take part in social, political and cultural affairs, to be a member of women's organizations, and generally develop her own gifts and abilities. For example, according to the latest statistics, the 35,000 clubs for rural housewives have a membership of one million.

The peasant-woman's cultural standards have risen most appreciably. Her previous passiveness has given way to an interest not only in new things to wear, eat, and furnish the house with, but also in national and world events, cultural news, and travel. This urges her to find more spare time for herself, not merely to rest or arrange a party, but to develop her own individuality.

Thanks to the people's state, which expresses the triumph of Lenin's ideas, the peasant woman in Poland now has the same opportunities for her cultural development as her sisters from other walks of life.

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The Role of Women in Estonian Agricultural Development

Estonia's peasantry which had been land-hungry for centuries, jubilantly welcomed the agrarian reform of 1940-41 that followed upon the restoration of Soviet power there. The organization of collective farms and state farms was of the greatest importance for the women of Estonia, for, as Lenin repeatedly noted, the complete emancipation of women is possible only when small holdings are combined into large cooperatively run farms. But this was not easy to do. The class enemies furiously slandered collective-farm life, and the capitalist ideologists tried to prove that the special individualism of the Estonian peasant made him unsuited to collective farming.

Practice has given the lie to all that. After the war Estonia's agriculture made noteworthy progress to become a well-developed branch of the economy thanks to the pooling of effort, state aid, increasing supplies of equipment and the constant concern of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Government. Today the Republic has 310 collective farms and 190 state farms in place of the 120,000 tiny farmstead holdings that it had before. Progress has been particularly outstanding in livestock farming, in

which field the output is far greater than before the war.

In capitalist Estonia, each kulak farmstead tried to emulate the highly productive farms of Scandinavia. Today Estonia's collective farms proudly demonstrate their own achievements. This clearly shows the great vitality of the socialist changes effected in the countryside and the triumph of Lenin's plan for co-operative farming.

More than half of Estonia's farm workers are women, which is an indication of the important part played by Soviet women in building the material foundations for communism, and of their active contribution to agricultural progress.

The policy followed by the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Government of consistent intensification in farming in order to increase production has been highly successful in Estonia. The state has shouldered the full expense of land improvement, including drainage, the liming of acid soils, the removal of rocks and boulders and the cutting and delivery of peat used as fertilizer, which is especially important for strengthening the agricultural economy of the republic. All our farms have electricity and all are equipped with modern agricultural machinery.

A change is taking place in the appearance of the countryside. The previously isolated farmsteads are being replaced by well-appointed farm settlements which have everything necessary in the way of cultural, educational, medical, shopping and other facilities and services. Besides making our farms highly profitable enterprises, we are also tackling the sociologically complex problem of "urbanizing" rural life. All collective

farm workers, both women and men, are entitled to social insurance and pensions. Women workers are entitled to maternity leave on full pay, and if they are machinery operators, they get additional holiday allowances. State-organized social measures are having a beneficial effect on the entire life and intellectual development of women in rural areas and are helping to do away with the distinctions between town and country.

Together with the rural economy our rural population has also changed. Half of the ten thousand trained specialists employed on the farms are women. Since 1954, a woman, Minna Klement, has been head of the republic's agricultural academy. A large proportion of the workers engaged in livestock-farming are women. For instance, most of the milking is now done by machines which are tended by women. The technical knowledge necessary is acquired at specially arranged courses and seminars. The "milkmaids" take pride in their skill and systematically compete among themselves for the honour of being named Top Milkmaid of their region, or even of the republic. I would also like to note that most dairy farms have set aside special premises as recreation rooms and have provided shower-rooms for their workers.

Mechanization has naturally introduced many new occupations in the sphere of agriculture and many women as well as men are working as operators of tractors, harvester combines and other machinery.

Valuable work contributing to agricultural advancement in our republic is done by the various agricultural research institutes and experimental

stations, where many of the scientific workers are women.

Finally, I would like to mention the great role that women play in government. Of the Estonian Supreme Soviet's 178 deputies, 62 (35 per cent) are women. More than five thousand women are deputies elected to the local Soviets. This is 48 per cent of the total number of deputies. Many of these women work on our farms. I do not wish to say, though, that work, social activity and study tear the village woman away from her family and home; on the contrary, she is as ever, first of all, the mother of her children.

BÜJINLHAM, a lawyer (People's Republic of Mongolia)

Women of People's Mongolia

Lenin, the great leader of the proletarian revolution, wrote that the basic task of the women's working-class movement is the achievement, not so much of the formal, but of the practical economic and social equality of women. Women should be freed from "domestic slavery," and drawn into socially productive work.

For centuries Mongolian women suffered under the yoke of feudalism and were no more than the domestic slaves of their husbands. In 1921, for the first time in the country's history, Mongolian women achieved equality with men under the law. Their age-old dream came true.

Davajev, a delegate of the Mongolian women to the 1st International Congress of the People's

Representatives of the Countries of the Far East, held in Moscow in 1922, said that she, a representative of the new Mongolia, after the victory of the people's revolution had received an opportunity to work for the benefit of her people. Her words aroused a warm response among the audience.

Vladimir Lenin, together with other delegates to this Congress, listened with attention to the speech of this woman. It is a well-known historical fact that Lenin at the time was greatly concerned with the question of the freedom and equality of the working women of Mongolia—one of the most backward Asian countries.

During his talk with Davajev, Lenin expressed his satisfaction with the presence at the congress of the representatives of the Mongolian women. He also stressed that the first task of the Mongolian women was to study, for only this could lead to their social emancipation.

He also pointed to the necessity for the active participation of Mongolian women in the building of a new life in their country.

This advice of Lenin's is now being translated into life. Mongolian women support the policies of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and are taking an active part in every sphere of the building of socialism.

Mongolian women cherish the memory of Janjima, the wife of Sühe Baator, leader of the Mongolian revolution. She was a veteran of the people's revolution who dedicated her life to the interests of the country and the people.

Ichinhorlo, a former shepherdess and now a Doctor of Medical Science and a surgeon, has saved thousands of human lives.

The distinguished teacher, Bastuh, has compiled many text-books for children on the subject of the Mongolian language. Her former pupils are now working in all parts of Mongolia.

The vegetable-growers, Dolgor and Badamsuren, Heroes of Labour, worked with the first Soviet specialists and became self-taught agronomists. Until the 1930's Mongolians did not eat vegetables. Dolgor sent her first small yield of vegetables to a boarding school. On learning about this, the lamas declared that Dolgor was a sinner, who, by ploughing the land, set the evil spirits of the soil against the people. They also declared that her vegetables were poison and that she was destined to die. But Dolgor was not afraid, she went on working and fighting against prejudice, for she believed in new ideas. Now Dolgor is one of the most progressive-minded women of Mongolia.

Ichihorloo, People's Artist of the Republic, also had many difficulties to overcome before she became an actress. Many of the roles she played will always be remembered by the grateful people. Her best role was that of Maria Alexandrovna, Lenin's mother, in the play *The Family*.

The Constitution adopted in 1940 says: "The women of the Mongolian People's Republic are granted equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural and socio-political life. To ensure these rights women are guaranteed equal pay for equal work, the right to rest, the right to social insurance, and the right to education. They are provided with the state-run infant-and-maternity welfare service, maternity leave on full pay, and a network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens."

The rights of the working women of Mongolia are receiving further guarantees with the consolidation of the revolutionary power in the country, with the development of the economy and the rapid cultural progress.

Lenin considered that higher officials should be selected and trained from among the most talented people of all walks of life, including women.

Today Mongolian women enjoy all the benefits of socialist society. Many Mongolian women are state officials, and many others are doing socially important work. Women are working side by side with men and are getting equal pay for equal work.

For outstanding work many women of Mongolia receive recognition in the form of orders, medals and honorary titles awarded by the Party and the government. Some women are Heroes of Labour of the Mongolian People's Republic, Merited Scientists, Merited Teachers, Merited Doctors, People's Artists and Merited Artists. This is an indication of the great role of women in the life of our society.

The working women of Mongolia enjoy the same rights as men in the sphere of retirement pensions and disability allowances.

Women go on pension five years earlier than men, and their service record may be also five years shorter. Women with four or more children go on pension ten years earlier than men.

Women are granted a 90-day maternity leave on full pay, and in the event of complications during child-birth this period is prolonged.

Mothers of large families receive state allowances and enjoy many privileges. Mothers with

five or more children receive a special order and a state allowance. Mothers who have given birth to three children receive a state allowance for their fourth child and for each of the next children until they are five years of age. Mothers of twins who are a year old receive an allowance of 1,000 tugriks as a lump sum.

The refusal to employ pregnant women or mothers of large families is punishable by law. It is also not permitted to dismiss them or make any reduction in their wages.

These measures make it possible for working women to devote their energies and talents to the cause of the country's development.

The teachings of Lenin and the continued fraternal assistance of the Soviet people have been important factors in the achievement of a free and happy life for the working women of Mongolia.

Lenin's teachings point the way to happiness and a bright future for the women of the world. We Mongolian women feel confident that the day will come when millions of mothers in all parts of the globe will work, live and study as equal members of society.

To fight for equality means to give one's entire strength and knowledge to the struggle for the complete liberation of mankind from exploitation of all kinds—to the struggle for the triumph of the ideals of socialism and communism. With this great aim in view, the women of Mongolia always join in the common struggle of women for peace and democracy and for the rights of children.

We are consistent supporters of the heroic

struggle of the Vietnamese people and Vietnamese mothers against the aggressive war unleashed by American imperialism.

And, together with the entire Mongolian people, the women of Mongolia condemn the provocations of the Israeli militarists, and express their full support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples.

The women of Mongolia rejoice that the teachings of Lenin are becoming increasingly widely spread and are turning into a banner in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

Permit me, on behalf of all Mongolian women, to express our deep gratitude to the women of the Soviet Union, our sisters, who share in our achievements and successes and in our difficulties and misfortunes, and to wish them further success in the building of a happy future on the basis of Lenin's teachings. Lenin will continue to live in the hearts of those who are striving for peace, justice and progress.

*KHUJUMA SHUKUROVA, Ph. D.
(Hist.), Chairman, Uzbek Society of
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with Foreign Countries (USSR)*

The Emancipation of Women in Central Asia

The emancipation of the women of Central Asia, including Uzbekistan, was a great social and political achievement of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by Lenin. Here,

women have become an active, creative force in communist construction.

The Party's work to take practical steps to emancipate the women living in the country's Eastern areas began with the very inception of Soviet power. The struggle had a distinctly class character, and was of exceptional significance for the nationalities of the outer regions, including Uzbekistan, where the task was to abolish the surviving feudal, patriarchal and clan relationships in both the economy and the mentality of the people, and to end the inequality of the formerly oppressed nations of Russia and help them advance to the socialist stage, avoiding the miseries of capitalism. Lenin attached great importance to the awakening of the awareness of the women of the East and to uniting them organizationally. His wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya, later told of the special attention paid by Lenin to this question in order that the women of the national minorities who had been particularly oppressed might be drawn into the work of national development.

In accordance with Lenin's directions the Party organizations in Central Asia set about, consistently and purposefully, to emancipate the women as part of the overall task aimed at the economic and cultural development of the region in line with the Leninist nationalities policy. Because of specific local customs, such as the wearing of the yashmak and the seclusion of women within the confines of the home, it was found necessary to organize women's clubs, which any Uzbek woman could join without being afraid of meeting strangers. These clubs, which helped Uzbek women to set foot on the road to a new

life of conscious endeavour, were an unusual type of establishment in that they ran a school for the eradication of illiteracy and organized various co-operatives, child welfare centres and, finally, amateur dramatic groups, all at the same place, which were instrumental in getting members to take part in social affairs and join in production. Many mass rallies, conferences and congresses of women were held at this time. The First Congress of the Women of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, held in 1920, was a most important event in the work being conducted among women.

On June 16, 1921, a group of 86 working women from Central Asia had the good fortune to see Lenin in person on the steps of Moscow's Third House of Soviets, where the Third All-Russia Food Conference was then in session. The great importance that Lenin attached to the task of awakening Eastern women to take an active and conscious part in society is shown in his warm message of greeting to the All-Russia Conference of Women Party Organizers of Work among the Women of the Soviet East, in which he wrote: "Please accept my heartfelt greetings and best wishes of success in your work, particularly in preparing for the forthcoming First All-Russia Non-Party Congress of Women of the East, which, correctly prepared and conducted, must greatly help *the cause of awakening the women of the East and uniting them organizationally*."

Of especially great importance in emancipating Uzbek women and in getting them to participate in social work and production was the land-and-water reform, which helped to establish

equality of the sexes in the matter of land and water rights and which paved the way for the development of the productive forces in agriculture. Prior to the Revolution according to the custom, only married men had the right to a supply of water. Bachelors were denied this right. But, on the other hand, to marry one had to pay bride-money. This hit hardest at the ordinary people who were forced to hire themselves out as farm labourers to the rich landowners. The land-and-water reform undermined the whole basis of the traditional bride-money and polygamy and with them the economic causes of the enslavement of the women. At the same time it served to awaken in the women feelings of human dignity and purpose, and helped make them politically conscious and active.

The commissions set up under republican and regional bodies of government for the purpose of improving working and living conditions for women also helped to involve women in the work of production. This was a most important task of socialist construction for it was of political, as well as economic, significance. To start with, women worked at handicraft workshops, which already imparted a social meaning to their work. The money they earned helped to make them less dependent on their husbands for support. Then, with the advent of socialist industrialization, women took up work in the factories. This presented a number of problems as the newly hired women workers were unskilled and unused to factory discipline. Training courses were organized, and every effort was made to improve working and general conditions by providing communal canteens, nurseries and similar faci-

lities. A further difficulty was the opposition of conservative-minded executives and hostile elements who, having worked their way into office, "theorized" about the unprofitability of employing women and crudely distorted the Party's directives. Combating these enemies of the people and exposing the falseness of their arguments, the Party exhorted local Party members, the trade unions, economic agencies and government bodies to find the widest possible application for the employment of women, to train them and advance their skills, and to create better working and living conditions for women.

As a result of the Communist Party's tremendous efforts with its educational campaign, the people began a mass drive against the old customs and traditions by which millions of women were held in seclusion and barred them from any participation in social and political life. This drive has gone down in the annals of Soviet history as the "Hujum", Uzbek for "the offensive." The deposed exploiting classes attempted to discredit the drive by describing it as an administrative measure to coerce women into removing the yashmak. But in fact, it was a mass movement among the women themselves who were backed by the majority in both the towns and in the countryside. It was led by Communists who helped their mothers, sisters, and wives to see the new life emerging with unimpaired vision. At rallies, thousands would tear off the yashmak as the despised symbol of servitude. The way for the Hujum was paved by the Party's efforts to educate and raise the political awareness of the women and the entire population, by the work of socialist construction, and the econo-

mic and cultural advancement of Uzbekistan.

Industrialization, collectivization and greater progress in the field of education held out still wider prospects for the participation of women in socialist construction. The position of Uzbek women has totally changed now. They account for 40 per cent of the entire labour force in the republic, and for 41 per cent of the industrial labour force. Uzbek women play a particularly important role in farming, with many holding executive office. They are working strenuously to increase cotton and silk production, raise the productivity of livestock farming, and secure further advances in other areas of the country's agriculture. Among the thousands of women scientists in the republic, about 1,100 hold M.Sc. degrees and fifty, Ph. D. degrees. Tens of thousands work as teachers and doctors—as compared to the mere handful of Uzbek women who did such jobs in the early days of Soviet power. There are 2,500 women on the professorial and teaching staffs of Uzbekistan's universities and colleges, and the republic's student enrolment includes 130,000 girls. All in all, 176,000 Uzbek women have a higher or partial higher education, or specialized secondary education.

Women occupy prominent posts in government bodies. There are 22 women from our republic in the USSR Supreme Soviet. In the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan there are 142 women, and in the various local Soviets of different levels, 36,640 women of whom more than 2,000 hold office as chairmen, vice-chairmen, and secretaries, or as members of the executive committees of these Soviets, while thousands serve on the standing committees and groups. Finally,

18 hold office as ministers, deputy ministers and other high executives in the republican government. For outstanding services rendered, 88 women have been awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labour, 36,000 have received Soviet orders and medals, tens of thousands hold certificates of honour conferred by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan, and nearly 1,500 have been awarded honorary republican titles.

The figure of woman and mother is universally revered in our country.

Women feature prominently in public organizations in Uzbekistan working for peace and international friendship. They held many mass rallies and meetings in support of the heroic people of Vietnam in their fight against American imperialism and of the Arab nations victimized by Israeli aggression.

The history of the emancipation of women in the Soviet East clearly illustrates that it is an inseparable part of the socialist record of achievement, the triumph of the Leninist nationalities policy, the fraternal friendship of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, and the disinterested help given to us by our elder brother, the great Russian people. The history of the transformation of the Uzbek woman from being a slave to being full mistress of her own destiny provides a striking example of what can be achieved under socialism, of the benefits that socialism brings to mankind.

Part 3.

*The Growing Role Played by
the Women in the Socialist
Countries Due to the Higher
Level of their Education
and Culture*

*YEKATERINA FURTSEVA, Minister
of Culture of the USSR*

Soviet Women Take Part in the Development of Socialist Culture

Lenin's deeds and his ideas have brought him immortal fame. Many outstanding representatives of world culture have paid tribute to his genius. In the early 1920's Henri Barbusse spoke of Lenin as of "a man of the greatest integrity and versatility. He truly has no peer among those who are trying to translate the centuries-old dreams of mankind into reality."

Today we take pride in saying that one of the greatest gains of the Soviet people is that the socialist revolution not only led to the industrialization of the country and the collectivization of agriculture, but was also accompanied by a revolution in the sphere of ideology and culture. While developing the Marxist doctrine, Lenin elaborated the theory of the cultural revo-

lution as an integral part of the building of socialism and communism.

The first steps taken by the Soviet Government for the cultural development of the people involved the destruction of all obstacles blocking cultural progress. Lenin's famous statement, "art and culture belong to the people", has become the basis of Party policy in furthering cultural development. Right throughout Soviet history the Party and the government have paid great attention to the development of public education, culture and art, regardless of the cost, even in the most difficult years.

The Leninist cultural revolution was successfully carried out in our country. Illiteracy was eradicated in a very short time, and the Soviet peoples, from being among the most backward, soon became among the most progressive. Today one-third of the Soviet population—over 77 million—is studying. It is also interesting to note that in 1969-70 women made up 66 per cent of the students enrolled in establishments of higher education dealing with teaching, art and cinematography and 81 per cent of those studying in specialized secondary schools of the same type.

Women take an active part in creating the material and cultural wealth of our society on an equal footing with the men. Women comprise 72 per cent of those employed in education and culture and 42 per cent of workers in art. Thousands of women are members of creative associations of writers, composers, painters and cinema workers. All of them represent the new, people's intelligentsia which emerged during the

years of Soviet government in all the republics of our country.

The women of the Soviet Union are making a huge contribution to the development of the country in the interests of the working people. This part being played by women in our society shows the deeply popular character of socialist culture.

The material base for the development of culture and art in the Soviet Union has been entirely built up during the years of Soviet government. Today the USSR has 530 professional theatres, 40 film studios and 155,000 cinema units, 130,000 clubs, houses and palaces of culture and 820 state parks of culture and recreation. Books play an important part in the cultural development of the people. In 1968 alone the country's 230 publishing houses produced more than 1,300 million copies of books, the total for all the years of Soviet power being 34,000 million copies. A quarter of all the world's publications is put out in the USSR. According to UNESCO data, the Soviet Union ranks first in the world for the number of translated works. Numerous drama and music theatres stage the best works of world literature and art. In 1968 the repertoire of drama theatres and children's theatres alone included over 330 works by foreign authors, both classical and modern.

Soviet culture absorbs the best that has been produced by world culture. It not only preserves the classical heritage and the progressive achievements of modern culture, but is also a qualitatively new culture, with its roots in socialist society and shaped by the many nations that make up the USSR. It is a culture with a

half-century of traditions and experience, a culture with its own classical art.

The creation for the first time of a single multi-national culture is the result of the creative co-operation of the fraternal Soviet peoples. From the first years of the building of socialism, the Leninist nationalities policy of our Party was aimed at raising the cultural level of all peoples and particularly of those who were lagging behind in cultural development. The implementation of this policy enabled all the nationalities of our country to achieve considerable cultural progress. Each Soviet people has produced outstanding scientists, scholars, writers and artists. And each has developed its own cultural institutions. Literary works are written in 71 languages of the Soviet people. Professional theatres produce plays in 46 languages. The process of mutual enrichment of the national cultures of our peoples is continuing and gaining momentum. All this contributes to the building of the culture of a communist society.

Art which is firmly based on the highest of principles has become an integral part of our people's life. Each talented work of art is not only a source of aesthetic pleasure for Soviet people, but also inspires them with high ideals, noble sentiments and profound ideas.

Over 110 million Soviet citizens (nearly half of the population) are regular users of the libraries. More than 2,000 million books are issued to readers every year.

Hundreds of thousands of working people take an active part in readers' conferences where new literary works are discussed. Meetings be-

tween readers and writers and journalists are organized regularly by libraries.

Statistics show that the number of visitors to museums (of which there are over 1,000 in the country) is increasing every year (the latest figure is close to 100 million visitors a year).

Many of our museums, including the Central Lenin Museum in Moscow, are the national pride of our people.

The people have a great craving for art, and theatre performances, concerts and cinemas attract enormous audiences.

Every year 290 million people attend concerts, circus performances and plays staged by professional theatre companies. In 1968 film attendance reached 4,715 million. In recent years the relaying of films over television has considerably increased the number of film-viewers.

In our country the development of culture and art has become the concern of the entire nation and millions of art-lovers take a profound interest in the results of the creative work of Soviet artists.

Art is of the greatest importance in the education of the rising generation.

The Soviet Union has 143 theatres for children. These include 45 theatres for young spectators, 97 puppet theatres and a music theatre, which make up nearly a third of all Soviet theatres.

Our artists use their talents to show the rising generation in a vital way the meaning of love for one's country, of the friendship and mutual assistance of the Soviet peoples and the working people of the rest of the world, the struggle of progressive forces against aggression and

reaction, and the best features of character and the significance of the deeds of the present-day revolutionary, who is the builder of a new life, and is responsible for the destiny of all of mankind.

Plays staged by the children's theatres include the works of Russian and foreign classics, folk tales and the best works of Soviet playwrights. Seven hundred new plays are produced every year by these theatres, and the generally high standard of these productions has resulted in an annual attendance at theatres for children and young people of more than 30 million.

The Children's Music Theatre is very popular with children. Our country is the first to have created such a theatre. More than a million children have already attended the wonderful productions of this theatre where they make an early acquaintance with operatic art.

Theatres for adults, which stage special plays for children also make a considerable contribution to the education of the growing generation. An important part in this work is also played by philharmonic societies which give concerts and music lectures for children; museums which hold regular exhibitions, organize lectures and excursions; libraries which popularize the best works about Lenin, the Party and the Komsomol, about the feats performed by Soviet people and the friendship of peoples in our country and all over the world. Children's music schools, choreographic schools, art studios and schools, Young Pioneers' Houses and Palaces and clubs—all play an important role in the general and artistic education of the young people.

Schools of general education do a great deal to develop the artistic taste, talents and creative abilities of their pupils and are helped in this work by writers, composers, painters, cinema workers, artists and journalists.

Wherever they work—in the sphere of culture or industry, in agriculture or state management, Soviet women are always concerned with the education of the younger generation. Their aim is to bring them up to be industrious, true to the ideals of communism, and worthy continuers of the older generation's great achievements.

The socialist system gives each person the chance to develop his abilities and talents. Amateur art activities put the world of art and culture within reach of all the working people.

There are hundreds of thousands of amateur art groups in the activities of which more than 12 million men and women of all ages and from all walks of life take part. The people's drama theatres, opera and ballet theatres, philharmonic societies, symphony orchestras, choirs and conservatoires testify to the achievements of amateur art. The people's amateur art groups are extremely varied in type, the character of their work and their composition. Many of them have won recognition for their masterly productions of Russian and foreign classical works, the classics of the different nations of the Soviet Union, and the best works of modern Soviet and foreign authors. The creative character and the scope of amateur art activities bring out many new talents which enrich the country's professional art companies.

The sponsorship of professionals and profes-

sional art companies contributes greatly to the high standard of these groups.

The victory of socialism in our country has merged for the first time the concepts of people and culture, people and art, into an integral whole in the deepest and widest sense of these concepts.

All the achievements of our country in creating a new, socialist culture are the result of the dedicated work of all the people, of the Soviet intellectuals, and of the immense efforts of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government aimed at implementing Lenin's ideals.

*OYUUN, Assistant Chairman of
the Mongolian Women's Committee,
Drama Theatre Producer (Mongolian
People's Republic)*

On the Road of Knowledge and Cultural Development

In 1921, Lenin, in a meeting with our leader, Sühe Baator, charted the path for building a new life for the Mongolian people, who had just successfully carried out a revolution. And our people, under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party, began to build socialism.

For the last three centuries the Mongolians were the most oppressed nation. They were downtrodden and kept poor by foreign colonialists and their henchmen, the Mongolian feudal

lords. The intellectual and cultural life of the people were rigidly confined to religion. The 20th century had started but the darkest Middle Ages still reigned in Mongolia.

A woman's lot was to keep near the hearth, wait on her husband, eat the scraps left from his meals, bear children, do all the work about the house and bear all the hardships attendant on nomadic life and the tending of the cattle of the rich man on whose handouts the family depended for its livelihood.

They had no idea of education and the cultural side of life. There were a few secular schools which trained clerks and officials, but no women were admitted to them. Mongolians used to say that a woman looking at a book was as dangerous as a wolf looking at a sheep.

Lenin's teaching that without a cultural revolution no radical reorganization of the economy was possible became the foundation of the Mongolian people's state. First of all a new national system of public education was developed. There were many difficulties at that stage. There were no school buildings, not even buildings that could be adapted for schools. For want of trained teachers, any people who could read and write—and there were not many of them either—became teachers. The population did not fully understand what the new schools were for. As before, many people preferred to send the boys to the monasteries and keep girls at home to do the housework. There were not even any elementary readers, let alone textbooks. At the same time the building of a new life required much higher standards of education from both men and women.

The cultural revolution started with the elimination of illiteracy. Everyone who could read and write was to teach two illiterate persons. During the vacation every schoolchild was to teach three adults to read and write. The children who coped with this task successfully were rewarded. Every establishment and enterprise was charged to teach all its illiterates to read and write. In the countryside, a great deal was done by schoolchildren and teachers to eliminate illiteracy. They assumed responsibility for different settlements and visited every nomad tent. The Ministry of Education published books for learning the alphabet and books for semi-literate people. Short-term summer schools for the nomad herd-tenders were organized.

As a result of all these measures taken by the Government, by 1952 illiteracy had been practically eliminated in a country where previously over 90 per cent of the population had been illiterate.

The campaign for spreading education which was conducted by the People's Revolutionary Party in 1959-63, played a great part in improving the educational and cultural standards of both men and women. The participants in the campaign—the entire people—tried to get every citizen to improve his or her general educational standard and skills, to obey the rules of socialist community life, and to keep themselves, their homes and public places clean. All government bodies and Party and social organizations worked with great energy to achieve these goals. The women's organizations of the Republic took an active part in the campaign. They arranged educational programmes for women

conducted by women teachers, enough of whom had been trained by that time. Women's teams were set up everywhere to raise cultural standards in home life and at places of work. The basic task of these teams was to see that homes and enterprises were kept up to proper sanitary standards.

During the campaign for raising the cultural level of the people, rooms of culture were set up—and they are still functioning—at factories, offices, house-offices and schools. Here women could obtain advice on hygiene, on how to make children's clothes and on various housekeeping matters.

To enable mothers to study, evening schools arranged groups in which the children were looked after while their mothers attended classes.

In 1958, the government introduced universal compulsory seven-year education in towns and district centres and four-year education in the countryside. Education of all types is given free of charge while orphans are entirely maintained by the state. College and secondary technical school students receive government grants. Education is conducted in the native Mongolian language and in the Kazakh language in the Kazakh district.

Girls account for 49.3 per cent of the total secondary school enrolment, 36 per cent of the secondary technical school, and 32 per cent of the college student population.

So that nobody should be left out of primary and secondary school, forest schools were set up for children of delicate health. These schools function all year round.

As more modern technology is introduced into various branches of the economy, more trained personnel is required. In 1963 the government issued a law on strengthening the links between education and actual practice and the further improvement of the educational system. It was decided to give schoolchildren more opportunity to work on experimental school plots and in handicraft shops, and periods of practical work at factories, state farms and stock-breeding stations were introduced for senior school pupils and college students as part of the curriculum. Under these programmes young people are trained by competent instructors to do fitter's jobs, operate lathes, drive cars, tractors and harvester combines, tend the animals, milk cows and mares and raise crops. The programmes combine work with wholesome recreation.

For those who could not complete their education in childhood, we have eight- and ten-year evening schools.

Thanks to these measures, many women have been able to get an eight-year school education.

Those who combine work with study have three of their working days shortened every week and a fifteen-day study-leave twice a year to sit their exams. They receive full pay during this study-leave. Before finishing school or taking an external college degree they are granted a month's leave to sit their examinations. During this leave, too, they draw the full amount of their wages.

The further development of literature and art national in form and socialist in content, is one of the achievements of the Mongolian people under the people's government. Art and literature

play a significant part in the final accomplishment of the tasks of the cultural revolution. Modern Mongolian art and literature are developing on the basis of the inexhaustible folk art of the country and also draw on the best treasures of world culture.

Mongolia has a State Drama Theatre, a State Opera and Ballet Theatre, a children's theatre and a puppet theatre, and there are music and drama theatres and Palaces of Culture in district centres.

At present we have several symphony orchestras, folk instrument orchestras and jazz groups.

The circus, set up early in the forties, is a great favourite in Mongolia.

The Mongolian fine arts, sculpture, the traditional kinds of folk art and modern painting, the first specimen of which was a portrait of Lenin, are continuing to make progress.

A big part in carrying out the tasks of the cultural revolution is played by the cultural and educational centres, such as the Palaces of Culture, clubs, libraries, reading and recreation rooms, cinemas and mobile film projectors.

Mongolian women are making a considerable contribution to cultural development. They account for over 30 per cent of the workers in the field of culture and art. Half the members of the local amateur art groups and many art workers are women and many women have been awarded the titles of People's Artist and Honoured Artist.

People's rule has not only given women equal rights with men under the law but has also given them every opportunity to enjoy their rights and freedom in practice, including the op-

portunity for full educational development. Thirty per cent of all graduates and secondary school leavers are women. An appreciable proportion of those with the academic degrees of M.Sc. and Doctor of Science are women, and women make up 30 per cent of the trade workers, 41 per cent of the teachers, 67 per cent of the doctors and nurses and 28 per cent of those employed at research centres.

Exercising their political rights, Mongolian women take an active part in state administration. Today 20 per cent of the deputies of the Mongolian parliament, the Great People's Assembly, and 26 per cent of the deputies of the local government bodies are women. Some ministries are also headed by women.

This does not mean to say that we have already carried out completely all the tasks of the cultural revolution, that we have no drawbacks or that the backwardness of centuries has been entirely overcome. No. Prejudices still exist and have still to be conquered. Nevertheless we are full of confidence in our future.

The Mongolian women are always ready to do everything in their power to further the efforts to protect women's rights, promote their cultural growth, preserve and consolidate world peace and build up friendship among nations.

The well-known Mongolian author, D. Senge, wrote:

"Everywhere peoples' friendship blossoms forth

And the striving for truth and light is uppermost,

Everywhere people from triumph to triumph have gone,

Lenin and Lenin's cause are marching on."

We wish the Soviet people and the women of the country of Lenin every success in the building of a communist society in their wonderful land, for the sake of peace and friendship throughout the world.

TERESA SOBKEIEWICZ, Presidium Member of the Polish Women's Council (Polish People's Republic)

Women's Role in the Cultural Life of People's Poland

In his article *A Great Beginning* Lenin dwells on the socio-economic reforms which, in socialist society, provide a real, and not merely formal, groundwork for democratizing society and enable women to take an equal part in economic, social and cultural life.

In a number of other articles Lenin pointed out that in socialist society, too, in order to give practical expression to the ideas of equality and to abolish discrimination against women, the old way of life, the established traditional norms of behaviour, must be renounced.

These reforms were to be effected along two lines. On the one hand they were based on a change in men's attitude towards women in the economic and social fields and in family life; on the other, they required that women themselves should undergo a change of attitude, that they should develop a sense of their own dig-

nity and take a more active part in affairs.

The objective laws and principles formulated by Lenin on the basis of his observation of the contemporary development of Europe and the experience of the young Soviet state have also found reflection in Poland's recent history. In effect, Polish women received equal political rights with men in 1918, earlier than in some highly developed countries. However, genuine democratization of civil rights, and proper working conditions and training for women could be realized only in People's Poland.

Let us consider the question of the role played by women in the cultural life of People's Poland. Earlier the proportion of girls educated at school at all levels was smaller than the proportion of boys, and decreased further at higher levels. This was especially so in the case of young workers and peasants.

In People's Poland, thanks to the rapidly developing system of education, this disproportion has been abolished. In 1968, women accounted for 62 per cent of trained workers with a secondary education engaged in the economy, 52 per cent of gainfully employed persons having a secondary technical education, and 34 per cent of all gainfully employed persons with university degrees.

In the 1967-68 school year girls accounted for 68 per cent of those completing secondary school, 58 per cent in the case of secondary technical schools, and 36 per cent of university or college graduates.

The proportion of women attending higher schools of all types is continuing to grow. Whereas in the 1955-56 school year women account-

ed for 32 per cent of the total student population, in the 1968-69 school year they already accounted for 41 per cent. The overwhelming majority of students taking university arts courses and attending medical colleges are women.

In 1968 women accounted for 67 per cent of workers in the spheres of education, science and culture. There is an even higher proportion of women (70 per cent) in the accounting field and especially in the health service (78 per cent). These figures show the importance of the role played by women in socialist society in Poland today.

With the raising of their educational level, women are playing an increasingly important part in the formation of a national culture in work and everyday life, in the field of human relations, in customs and morality, and in education, science and art.

There are 286 Polish women writers (27 per cent of the total number of writers), 2,949 artists (45 per cent), 40 composers (16 per cent), 1,171 architects (24 per cent) and 253 town planners (23 per cent). Women take an active part in amateur art.

Women dominate among cultural and educational workers, such as librarians and worker-organizers of clubs and recreation rooms, in Houses of Culture and cultural societies and departments of People's Councils.

Another field in which women in People's Poland have been most successful is scientific research work. Today 30 per cent of lecturers and professors at Poland's universities and higher educational establishments are women. The old idea that only men are capable of working in

the higher realms of science has gone.

The all-round promotion of women's interests has become a reality in People's Poland. This process is continuing but it is not free of some of the old-fashioned prejudice. For example, there is still an insufficient proportion of women in executive jobs, especially in the sphere of the national economy.

In analyzing this point more closely Lenin's works immediately come to mind, in which he points out the causes holding back the achievement of genuine equality of men and women in the professional and social fields. These causes depend on the circumstances of everyday life, on the fact that women have numerous housekeeping duties and, to a certain extent, on their own lack of confidence in their abilities and unwillingness to accept responsibility. These traits, often exhibited by women, were fought by Lenin who, instead, emphasized women's organizing talent and urged them to perform social functions such as would bring this talent out. Nevertheless Lenin considered that, even in a socialist state and with complete equality in the eyes of the law, it would still take much time to transform the organization of society and social customs so as to provide for women's equality in fact.

We can see by Poland's example how this process develops in industrial establishments where women work as engineers and managers, at universities and colleges where women become professors, and, last but not least, in the family.

The basic changes in the development of the personality of women that are contributing to

the increasingly creative role played by women in society are also causing changes in family life.

Women's occupational and social activities have led to a division of duties between husband and wife which has resulted in men taking a greater hand in the housekeeping. The more extensive use of household appliances has also helped to reduce the burden of housework. It is significant that the changed attitudes with regard to the sharing of family responsibilities and the housework, brought about by the greater role now being played by women, show a tendency to extend also to families where mothers remain at home to raise the children and keep house. Such women, too, are keeping pace with the times, taking part in social and cultural activities in community centres, social organizations and cultural and educational establishments.

The position of women in the family is being enhanced as, more and more, they become equal partners whose opinion carries much weight in the family. As mothers, women enjoy even greater prestige as they attain higher educational standards and more freely express their personalities. Recognition of this prestige is seen in the greater esteem in which children hold their mother who, while fulfilling her family responsibilities, also finds time for versatile social activities.

Women's influence in the upbringing of the family is shown in the development by young people of constructive views on society, assimilated for the most part in the home. Young people are exhibiting a more rational approach to

life and an objective attitude towards social and economic realities. It is also characteristic of young people now that they tend to plan their futures with a view to the needs of society, choosing their careers consciously.

In socialist Poland, in keeping with Lenin's ideas, conditions have been created whereby women, as genuinely equal members of society, enjoy every opportunity to develop their capacities and take full part, in an increasingly conscious and creative way, in the life of their country.

*SONYA BAKISH, Editor-in-Chief
of the magazine "Bulgarian Woman"
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The Socialist Cultural Revolution and the Bulgarian Woman

In Bulgaria, as everywhere else in the world, the position of women in society is the sensitive and infallible barometer that shows the exact degree to which society is free and progressive.

The experience of our country has confirmed once again the correctness of Lenin's words that "It is said that the best criterion of the cultural level is the legal status of women. This aphorism contains a grain of profound truth. From this standpoint only the dictatorship of the proletariat, only the socialist state could attain, as it has attained, the highest cultural level."

For some years after the socialist revolution in Bulgaria the onerous legacy of the past—the semi-literacy and illiteracy of women, especially in the villages—had to be overcome. The obstacles to the striving of Bulgarian women for cultural progress were removed one after another.

Socialist social relations have ensured the factual, and not merely the legal, equality of the women of Bulgaria, providing a real basis for their moral and creative development.

Today about fifty per cent of the school pupils and over 45 per cent of the college students are girls.

The great force of the socialist cultural revolution is that it develops among broad sections of the people, turning culture in all its expressions—in work, morals, science, education and art—from the culture of an exclusive elite into the culture of the whole people.

Easy access to the world of culture by the largest possible number of women is merely one of its progressive features. Another is that the Bulgarian woman, like her sisters in other socialist countries, having enriched her mind with knowledge, has the possibility of applying it in practice and contributing to the growth of the national culture. The scope of revolutionary change in women's place in society is the scope of the revolutionary change in the life of the people as a whole. There emerges and develops a new, hitherto unknown phenomenon—a woman's confidence in her own ability.

Carrying into practice Lenin's idea that, through working and taking part in administration, women will soon learn and catch up with

the men, our people's government ensures for women extensive access to diverse spheres of human activity.

The role of woman as a creative member of society is of particular significance to our socialist culture. She fights for her people's happiness from the stage, defends the humanism of the communist ideal in the books she writes, and reveals the beauty of the regenerated socialist motherland and the new individual in the pictures she paints.

Let us turn, for example, to a sphere of human knowledge such as science which in capitalist Bulgaria was closed to women.

The training of a scientist is an intricate and lengthy process, and to be a scientist requires considerable intellectual capacity. Nevertheless, Bulgarian women, the descendants of semi-literate peasants and workmen, within the lifetime of the single generation that has grown up under people's rule, have managed to take an honourable place in scientific activities.

Until September 9, 1944, there had not been a single woman in the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Today, however, the Academy has 300 women scientists—35 per cent of its total research staff. Bulgarian science can justly be proud of such an eminent natural scientist as Academician Raina Georgieva.

The present Bulgarian Minister of Justice, Svetla Daskalova, was a senior research worker of the Law Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Bulgarian women boldly enter every field of modern technology—cybernetics, electronics, and

so on. This shows their determination to keep up with the times.

Some people in the West oppose to our conception of culture as culture of the whole people—which has been firmly established in the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries—the idea of mass culture. This mass “culture” of the West increasingly has to take into consideration the tastes of the more backward sections of the public. Uncultivated aesthetic taste readily accepts trashy novels, sentimental melodrama, crude westerns and films which exploit sex, all of which shape the aesthetic tastes of the young. The shallowness of mass “culture” tunes the minds of the public to a certain key, diverting attention from the urgent social, political and economic issues which face society. In the West, they deliberately ignore the question whose interests mass “culture” furthers, and what ideas it preaches. The claim that it does not indoctrinate is entirely spurious. In practice it plays, if covertly, into the hands of the upper elements of the capitalist class.

The Bulgarian woman is developing in harmony with the times, being fully convinced that the revolutionary struggle and social reforms are historically necessary. She views the world from the standpoint of Marxism. An educated and thinking person, she forms her own independent opinion on the problems of life. Nevertheless, the cultural growth of our society has not yet reached a high enough level to bring cultural-social and family relations fully into keeping with the legal and labour standards of equality that have been provided by people’s rule. There is still much to be desired in this respect.

Lenin often made fun of those who expected an ideal society devoid of all contradictions and hardships to spring up today or, at the latest, tomorrow. There are contradictions and difficulties in our society too, but they are not antagonistic. These difficulties do not spring from a social system which is, in its essence, hostile to the genuine equality of women, as is the case under capitalism. In some instances practice fails to concur completely with the legal provisions because of the lingering conservatism of social consciousness, objective difficulties associated with everyday life, and some shortcomings of the women themselves.

Because of this, some problems concerning women's position in society still exist in Bulgaria. But they are essentially different from those of the past in their political and social-class content, and will be solved more and more successfully. Lenin's ideas and efforts are an inspiration and a guide for our socialist society in this sphere as in others.

MARIA BRADEA, Chairman of the Timisoara Regional Women's Committee (Socialist Republic of Romania)

The Part of Romanian Women in Developing Socialist Culture

The extensive process of the revolutionary transformation of Romanian society has also involved the cultural sphere. Cultural development

has been made possible for all citizens of Romania, including women, whereas previously it was possible for only a mere handful.

Lenin's words that "unless women are brought to take an independent part not only in political life generally, but also in daily and universal public service, it is no use talking about full and stable democracy, let alone socialism," uttered in 1917, were of an unprecedented importance at that time. They heralded the beginning of a new era for the women of the Soviet Union and later on for the women of all socialist countries. Our Party adopted them as inseparable from the other principles constituting the revolutionary theory of communism. Thanks to the Party's leadership, its concern and support, women have had the opportunity to study and constantly raise their cultural level. This has meant the emancipation of women from the fetters and prejudices of the past, has given them confidence in their own strength, and opened to them boundless horizons of which they could not have dreamt before. It has also meant equipping them with extensive and precise knowledge and developing in them a sense of responsibility and a growing awareness of human dignity and public duty.

Cultural development which is available to the entire people in the socialist countries, is rationally based, realistic, and all-inclusive. All that is of lasting value is preserved, the present is carefully assessed, and bold plans are laid for the future. Art, which is a part of this culture, tries to give an intelligible representation of reality, and the fact that it is linked with life by no means implies any absence of poetry and warmth, or any rejection of beauty and romance.

Like any artistic form of any epoch (for every epoch has its reflection in art), culture reflects precisely each epoch, its people and their aspirations.

Ever since the beginning of the socialist revolution women in our country have enjoyed an equal opportunity to study and raise their cultural level. The first measure taken after the democratic system had been established was to eliminate illiteracy among adults. The subsequent introduction of universal eight-year and then ten-year schooling helped to establish real equality between men and women and made it possible to compare their intellectual capacities. The results of the comparison are most convincing. Women in the Romanian Socialist Republic attend schools of all kinds—vocational, technical, general and special—and proceed to establishments of higher education according to their abilities and inclinations. They may be appointed to any office, pursue any occupation and lead efforts in any field. We have very many women in Romania teaching at different types of schools, engaged in the health service and the law-courts, working at plants and factories as engineers and technicians, occupying important executive posts and holding orders and medals of the Republic.

Women have begun to feel the need to exercise their rights. They have realized that those who enjoy rights also have duties, and they are carrying out those duties better all the time. They are aware that they, too, are citizens, and are assuming an equal share of responsibility for the successful development of all spheres of activity in their own country. They understand that the tasks to be tackled by our motherland, by

men, and by mankind, are also their own tasks, the tasks of every woman.

The present stage of the building of a fully-fledged socialist society, and its future prospects, have made it necessary to improve the education system further. This is one of the many tasks which must be achieved to promote the progress of the economy, and of science, and further cultural development. Women have an equal stake in all these things.

Besides school education, many other measures are taken in Romania to further the education of the people and help them to adjust to modern life with its high tempo induced by the rapid progress of science and technology.

There are refresher courses and specialization schools for citizens of all categories and occupations. Extensive and serious cultural and educational work is conducted among the population through lectures, the press, libraries, people's universities, the radio, television and films. This effort is sponsored by the State Committee for Culture and Art, the General Federation of Romanian Trade Unions, the National Women's Council, youth and other organizations.

Of course in the past, also, there were women in Romania who distinguished themselves in various cultural spheres, but that was rare. Today there is a large number of women contributing to science and art. We have women scientists such as Academician Raluca Ripan, Dr. Marcela Pitis, and Dr. Anna Aslan; women poets Maria Banus or Ana Blandiana; artists—Lidia Macovei and Titica Calugaru; sculptors—Zoia Baicoianu, and many others whose work compares with the

best work produced anywhere at the present time.

Women today can look far ahead, and they do so with courage, taking a vital interest in the future. Their gains must now be consolidated and extended. In this, the socialist countries can rely on the efforts of the entire working people. Women, who make up more than half the population, with their intelligence, potentialities and talents, are taking part on an equal footing with men in the great constructive work of realizing the high ideals and aims of socialism, working to establish a favourable climate throughout the whole world, to bring to fruition the daring attempts of man's spirit.

AKIMA SULTANOVA, Senior Researcher, Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan (USSR)

The Importance of the Cultural Revolution in Fitting Women for Taking Part in Production and in Social and Political Activities in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic

Lenin believed that the cultural revolution was a dialectical necessity indispensable to the building of socialist society. ". . . without universal li-

teracy," he said, "without a proper degree of efficiency, without training the population sufficiently to acquire the habit of book reading, and without the material basis for this, without a certain sufficiency to safeguard against, say, bad harvests, famine, etc.—without this we shall not achieve our object."

In describing the cultural revolution as a part of building socialism and communism, the Party Programme adopted by the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union emphasizes that the main object of the cultural revolution is to furnish all the necessary intellectual requisites of communism. This statement is fully in line with Lenin's teaching on the cultural revolution.

The triumph of Soviet rule in Azerbaijan provided all the necessary conditions for the people's development and progress.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, a strong socialist industry has been built in Azerbaijan and the collective farm system has been firmly established in the countryside, furnishing the groundwork of the victory of the cultural revolution.

Lenin stressed that rapid educational progress was essential to hasten the development of the Soviet national republics.

The elimination of illiteracy was the first task to be tackled in Azerbaijan as 90.7 per cent of the population were illiterate. All forces were mobilized to fight illiteracy, and between 1920 and 1923 the campaign developed into a sweeping popular movement.

The road to the emancipation of women in the areas which had comprised the outskirts of the

former Russian Empire was particularly hard and complicated. Women's clubs played a special part in eliminating illiteracy among women, and among these clubs the Ali Bairamov Central Women's Club was the most outstanding in this respect. Special women teachers had to be trained since women refused to be taught by men teachers. An organized campaign against illiteracy was launched, a Republican Headquarters of Education Drives was set up, and special textbooks, posters and manuals were published.

In 1924 Klara Zetkin visited Baku and the Ali Bairamov Women's Club. She wrote about her impressions: "The Muslim women's club in the eastern and south-eastern republics of the Soviet Union is the offspring of the proletarian revolution, its chief embodiment... Here one can see directly in concrete ways, how the awakening Moslem woman learns, works and struggles to win for herself, and to be worthy of, a new equal existence." Later, in her book *In the Liberated Caucasus (Im befreiten Kaukasus)* she wrote: "In the women of the East, despite the stupefying conditions of life over many centuries, there begins to awaken a sense of human dignity and an ambition to obtain human rights."

The constant efforts of the Communist Party and Soviet Government to attract the local population, Azerbaijanians in particular, to general schools, secondary technical schools, colleges, workers' educational departments, technical colleges and institutes, have yielded good results.

The Government of the Soviet Union gave tremendous assistance to the national republics in order to promote their development. Budget appropriations for the social and educational needs

of the national republics, and for work among women kept increasing every year. As a result of this policy, Azerbaijan now has its own scientists, doctors, agronomists, teachers and engineers, whose ranks include many women. There is not a single field of activity in which Azerbaijani women do not take part.

For example, in 1968, 464,500 women were employed in different branches of the economy. This was 39 per cent of the total number of factory and office workers.

Among the women engaged in production today there are hundreds of thousands of inventors and innovators. We see them in the oil fields, factories and plants, operating intricate equipment side by side with men. Azerbaijani women are prominent in communist labour teams. Of 475 Heroes of Socialist Labour, 192 are women.

Women have made a great contribution to the development of agriculture and to increasing efficiency in this sphere. Many large collective and state farms are headed by women.

The proportion of women among specialists with higher education or technical secondary education was 41 per cent in 1968.

Azerbaijani women take an active part in the development of science and in the cultural field. Women make up 36.5 per cent of the Republic's research workers. The Republic has 60 women graduates with the degree of Doctor of Science, and 924 with the degree of MSc. There are 192 women professors and lecturers at higher educational establishments.

The Azerbaijanians are justly proud of the wonderful women scientists who have come to

the fore during the years of Soviet rule. These include: the first woman member of the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijan SSR, Valida Tuta-yuk, and Izzat Orudjeva, Corresponding Member of the Academy, and first woman in the Soviet Union to become a Doctor of Science in oil engineering.

Umnisa Musabekova, Corresponding Member of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences, has visited many countries giving scientific papers. She also took part in the Third Congress of Ophthalmologists of American and Asian Countries in Istanbul.

Before the revolution there were no women artists, writers, sculptors, composers or architects in Azerbaijan. Now we have 25 women composers, 30 artists and 131 architects.

During the years of Soviet government hundreds of women have begun to take a leading part in public life. These include: the Minister of Social Security, Zuleikha Seidmamedova; the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Nakhichevan Republic, Sakina Alieva; the Minister of Higher and Technical Secondary Education, Zuleikha Guseinova; the Foreign Minister of the Republic, Taira Tairova; the Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR, Zarifa Shukurova, and the Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Court of the ASSR, Shafiga Alieva. Many women are Deputy Ministers and hold other responsible government positions.

There are 123 women among the Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR, and twenty-two Azerbaijani women are Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The achievements of the women of our republic are typical of those of hundreds of thousands of women in the Soviet national republics who have overcome in the shortest possible historical time the oppression of centuries-old prejudices and ignorance and have become equal and active members of society.

The women of Soviet Azerbaijan, like all Soviet women, are in the front ranks of those who are fighting for peace, actively supporting the peace-oriented policy of the Soviet Government.

It is the task of all Soviet women to continue to work with total devotion for the cause to which Lenin dedicated his life—the cause of building communism.

Part 4.

*Family Problems Under
Socialism*

*ZSUZSA ORTUTAY, Executive
Secretary, Hungarian Women's Na-
tional Council (Hungarian People's
Republic)*

Some of the Problems of the Modern Family

In Hungary it was possible to say Lenin's name out openly, without fear of punishment, only in 1919 during the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic. During the darkness of counter-revolutionary rule the light of his ideas filtered into the country only through the underground movement. His writings were published under various pen-names right up to 1945, when, in the course of their victorious advance, the Soviet fighting forces brought freedom to us in Hungary and enabled us to start building a new life along the road charted by Lenin.

Following Lenin's teachings, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries have successfully dealt with the question of wo-

men's rights and with many questions connected with the family. However, the present phase of socialism is producing a new crop of problems. Today we look upon the development of the family and its functions as socio-political, economic, ideological, ethical, juridical and educational questions. Lenin often expressed his indignation over the slave-like status of women in the family and over legislation in capitalist society governing family relations.

At the 4th Moscow City Non-Party Conference of Working Women, he said: "It seems to me that any workers' state, in the course of the transition to socialism, is faced with a double task. The first part of that task is relatively simple and easy. It concerns those old laws that kept women in a position of inequality as compared to man."

Concerning the second part of this task, Lenin noted in *A Great Beginning*: "The more we have cleared the ground of the junk of old bourgeois laws and institutions, the clearer have we come to realize that this has only been the clearance of ground for building, but not the actual building itself. The woman is still a slave in the household, despite all the emancipatory laws, as she is burdened down with, and stifled, stultified and humiliated by petty household chores which chain her to kitchen and nursery, depleting her effort with work that is barbarically inefficient, petty, nerve-wracking, stultifying and stupefying. Genuine female emancipation, genuine communism, begins only when and where a mass drive is launched—under the leadership of the proletariat in control of state power—against this petty domestic economy, or rather its wholesale reor-

ganization into a large socialist economy is undertaken."

Socialist society strives to deliver the human being from every form of oppression, to replace wage-slavery by work that is joyous and creative, to free the family from everything that distracts it from the real functions that it should discharge under socialism.

In this connection the following functions of the socialist family have now become increasingly clear:

First, the creation of children and the establishment, for the purpose of bringing them up, of that primary collective unit which would provide all the conditions required for the children to mature into happy and useful members of society;

Second, the family must be for all its members the collective closest to them, in which they can relax and regain strength for socially-useful work, that cell which spiritually, ethically and culturally enriches its every member.

However, it takes, historically speaking, rather a long time to realize in practice all the principles laid down in the legislation and to create the required mentality-forming economic conditions and factors. Lenin once commented that there was enough work in this sphere for many years to come, and that this work would not produce speedy results.

I would like now to dwell on the state of affairs in Hungary, and to view this matter from the angle of our achievements and our problems. I hope that besides conclusions that apply only to Hungary, some general conclusions may be drawn that will be of interest to others as well.

A quarter-century of socialism represents, historically, a very brief span, especially from the viewpoint of those fundamental changes that are essential to build socialism fully. Furthermore, it must be remembered, that the family, as society's most conservative element, holds on to its traditions and customs longest of all. Feudal as well as capitalist features, fostered by the then influential church, were characteristic of the Hungarian family before liberation. In this family the wife was in complete subordination to her husband, her task being to look after the house and the children. Family life was regulated by the "my house is my castle" principle of seclusion. This meant that the rearing of children was regarded as an exclusively private, rather than a social, concern. A woman was valued for her dowry and for her house-keeping. Her education and breadth of outlook were of no consequence, for, according to the old scale of values, these things had nothing to do with women. In marriage, not only property, but also rank, were of great importance.

The inequality of women was expressed in the fact that the future of a girl was looked upon by society only in relation to marriage. A woman who did not marry was considered to be of little worth, an inferior sort of person.

After Hungary was delivered from fascism and the working class came to power, there, as in other socialist countries, women were given full equality by law and a number of edicts were passed on mother and child welfare. In place of the old law on the family which guarded unrestricted paternal authority, and inheritance only from

father to son, the new legislation made husband and wife equal partners in responsibility and made all their possessions joint property. This was the end, from the legal point of view, of the woman's subordinate position in the family.

The keystone of practical equality for women is the law that gives them the right to work and to independent earnings. In Hungary today two out of every three employable women are in useful work. This is 41 per cent of the entire work force.

The equality of men and women, as expressed above all in economic equality, is mainly responsible for the modern Hungarian marriage having become a voluntary union of two free persons—a union based on love, mutual respect, a common outlook and identical ethical standards.

Besides doing everything it can to encourage women to take part in socially useful work, the people's state in Hungary pays great attention to the organization of mother-and-child welfare institutions. These include medical consultation centres, maternity homes and hospital wards, creches, kindergartens, boarding schools, and school supervision of children until parents get home from work. There is a system of state grants for families with children and besides a five-month maternity leave, on full pay, working mothers are entitled to preferential leave to nurse babies and to look after sick children.

All these measures, especially the 1967 law on child-care grants, demonstrate the great concern for the welfare of women in our people's state. A woman is looked upon not only as a worker helping to cater for the material needs of society, but also as a mother who discharges the

socially important function of bearing and bringing up a child. Thanks to the child care grant, the mother may take three years off from work to devote herself to her child. And this period will be included in the service record that she requires for her pension and for other social privileges; moreover, she may return to her old job after the three-year period is up. All working women, including farm workers, are entitled to the motherhood grant. A housewife receives it at her husband's place of work.

We are also developing our network of public services in both town and country, in keeping with present-day demands. However, the present number of child welfare institutions and public services is not sufficient and is not keeping pace with the increase in the number of women employed. The further swift development of these services is therefore a priority.

For some time to come, we shall not be in a position to do all that is necessary to lighten women's domestic work in full measure. And so we advise an acceptable division of chores within the family and strive to eradicate those old-fashioned views according to which the husband and father was not expected to help with the care of the house and children. We must carry on serious educational work, and among the women too, so that people come to realize that it is essential to free the mother from the burden of household chores in order to strengthen the family and make it a spiritually united entity. An equitable division of chores is already to be observed in many families, especially among the younger generation.

In Hungary, as in the other countries that have

embarked upon socialism, the formation of the present-day family took place in conditions of dire economic backwardness and chaos, of hard work to restore a war-ravaged economy, to carry out industrialization and socialize agriculture, and in a period marked by international tensions. These factors not infrequently hamper our work to speedily eradicate conservative attitudes.

What, actually, are the difficulties arising out of the woman's "double job"—her employment and her work as housewife?

Family relations often become strained due to the impossibility of placing a child in a nursery at once. Parents cannot afford the time to look after their children, since essential household chores, according to Soviet and Hungarian surveys, and also to surveys made in other socialist countries, occupy from four to six hours a day. The part that the father plays in bringing up his children is not acknowledged and increased by him quickly enough. As a result many families feel incapable of discharging their child-rearing functions properly, claiming that a working mother has not enough time. Finally, since socialist society assumes a large measure of the responsibility for bringing up children, some parents come to think that they can leave the entire matter in the hands of society.

Everyday tensions often detract from a realization of the vast progress that has been made and is continuing to be made in the sphere of raising the family's general and cultural levels, particularly as a result of measures connected with mother-and-child welfare. On the other hand, in the quarter-century of our development, it is precisely these measures with their huma-

nitarian essence that have won over to socialism broad masses both in the socialist countries and throughout the world.

The changed structure of the family, the emergence of a new type of smaller family and also the longer expectation of life are placing new demands before society with regard to aged people. Although the present pensions scheme under socialism is of a comparatively high order, still it does not settle all the problems. There are questions other than the material aspect still to be tackled. These include the problems of how to look after the aged, what to give them to do in place of their previous useful activity, and how to preserve family ties when children live away from their parents.

The contradictions of the transition period that are associated with the woman's "double job" in society, often lead to varied interpretations of the role of the family under socialism today. The crucial thing is how distinctly and correctly both society and the family see the main trend of the changes occurring within the family, and whether society will be able to educate its younger generation for future family life in accordance with its ideal of marriage.

To this end it is vital for us to extend sociological studies related to the development of the family. Marx, Engels and Lenin have left a wonderful legacy covering many problems of the family. Proceeding from existing circumstances, we must study the situation of the family today so as to draw the right and proper conclusions as to the tasks before society and the family and as to the relations between these now and later.

We in Hungary are only starting out on this

research. We fully realize that for our society to develop, we must formulate the modern family ideal, discern the unbreakable community of interests between the family and society, and also understand the family's social functions and tasks.

We are following the road that Lenin charted and no obstacles will turn us aside from it.

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The Formation of Socialist Family Relationships in the German Democratic Republic

In a conversation with Klara Zetkin, Lenin once expressed the idea that, during the building of socialism, questions of marriage and the family would acquire topical importance. Discussions at this symposium have shown that this is so. At its 6th Congress in 1963, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany decided that a new law on the family that would conform to the new social relationships should be drafted. Comrade Walter Ulbricht claimed that the new law's objective "is to perfect the life which people share."

When drafting the law on the family, we took as our guide, first, what Lenin had written about

family problems. For example, in a letter written to Inessa Armand in 1915, he defined the principles of proletarian morality and responsibility in love, which he contrasted to the bourgeois outlook. He emphasized that the demand that love be made free from material considerations and various prejudices was an important proletarian demand, which, nonetheless, could on no account be confused with the demand for freedom from a "serious attitude to love."

When the bill was put to a public referendum, it was found that in our republic these basic principles of morality had been universally accepted. During this referendum, which continued from April to July, 1965, the 34,000 meetings held, at which 24,000 people, 49 per cent of whom were women, spoke, drew a total attendance of 750,000 people. There was great approval when it was seen that the proposed law on the family not only covered various conflicts and property relations in the family, but also dealt with various problems of the family and its role in society. The discussions disclosed that the equality of women and partnership in marriage are inseparable. This, of course, does not mean that the domination by men is replaced by domination by women. Marriage must be seen as the union of two equal complementing partners who love one another and help and support one another. It was demanded of parents and of the school and various youth organizations that they contribute to the effort to prepare the younger generation for this important aspect of life. As a result of the referendum the bill incorporated in its final wording 220 proposed amendments.

The principles and purposes of the new Fa-

mily Code, which entered into force on April 1, 1966, serve to mould socialist family relationships. Very many families are trying to implement the principles that it enunciates. However, it appears that the process of developing a relationship of true equality between men and women within the family and of rooting out the old traditional notions is not a simple matter. By means of state and public organizations and the information media we are influencing the conscious formation of socialist relationships within the family.

The women's new social status is also changing the man's standing in the family. Lenin once observed that very few men—even among the proletariat—realized how much they could lighten the burden of their wives, even doing away with it altogether, if they were to lend a hand in "woman's work". But it seemed that that was contrary to the "right and dignity of a man". They demanded their peace and comfort.

Society is doing a great deal to expand the public services, lighten household chores and, above all, reduce the amount of time spent on them. Since this calls for a great material outlay, the task is being accomplished gradually. Therefore it is most important for the family to overcome the outdated "traditional" notions of the division of labour, which formerly, under capitalism, assumed that the man was the bread-winner and that the woman would stay at home to keep house and bring up the children.

In the German Democratic Republic today 78 per cent of all women of working age have jobs. They are financially independent and work on an equal footing with the men in all spheres of state

and public activity. In such conditions the old, "traditional" division of labour has become an anachronism. Today there is no reason why household chores should be regarded as exclusively "women's business". There are no legal, economic or moral justifications for housekeeping remaining exclusively the woman's prerogative. Today both marriage partners should share the work involved in bringing up their children and doing what is necessary about their home.

Paragraph Nine of the new Family Code proclaims: "The two marriage partners are equal. They live together and jointly keep house. All aspects of their shared life and the development of each of the partners are decided by them together." Paragraph Ten states: "Both partners take part in bringing up their children and house-keeping."

We are sure that the comprehensive discussion of the new law and the lively debates around these matters have helped many families, especially the younger ones, to develop a new attitude on the part of the man to the family and his obligations.

The fact that both boys and girls are treated identically at the co-educational public schools is also helping the implementation of the new law. Although we cannot say that we are fully satisfied with what has been achieved so far, it is nevertheless clear that there have been positive changes.

In many towns and village communes men are voluntarily helping, without pay, to build facilities such as laundries, nurseries, and premises for prolonged-day groups.

In our republic both women and men are striv-

ing to overcome the old backward notions as quickly as possible. They are working together to create the conditions that will enable women to develop their abilities to the full. Experience has shown that the special methods employed in work in this field have not led to an erroneous interpretation of the so-called women's question. On the contrary, our approach has proved to be correct, and not only when we were laying the foundations for socialism, but also today, when we are building the developed social system of socialism.

NATALIA POPA, Bureau Member, Cluj District Women's Committee (Socialist Republic of Romania)

The Structure of the Modern Family

Analyzing the present status of women in the light of Lenin's ideas, we are able to say that socialism has elevated women to a new status, has ensured the realization of her desires and has provided the opportunities for her to display her abilities to the full in every sphere of social activity.

Today the participation of women in production and their competence in positions of responsibility are facts that cannot be denied. Their inner world as members of society—as workers, housewives and mothers—has broadened with the increasing demands being made upon women. In this connection we are especially interested in

the impact produced upon women by contemporary society and culture. What is it that is changing today in the modern woman's make-up, her mentality, emotions, resolve and character, when she is called upon to respond to all the changing requirements of the social environment? What are the difficulties and problems that confront her? How does she herself assess her role in the national economy and in the family, and what ambitions does she have with regard to her own cultural level? Finally, what conditions are needed for her to be able to still better fulfil her functions as mother, wife, and valuable worker in production?

The family presents a favourable setting for the development of the personalities of each of its members, and especially of women, in view of the importance of their role in family life. In a critical analysis of the status of women under capitalism, Lenin charged society with the task of emancipating women and of establishing a new relationship between men and women, and indicated what should be the moral and human basis for this. Equal rights for women in the family are important for the family's entire development within society, let alone for women's own development.

In Romania marriage and the family are protected by the constitution. The principle of voluntary marriage constitutes the foundation of the family. In their relationship to each other, and to their children, husband and wife enjoy equal rights and have equal obligations. Marriage is no obstacle to the exercise by a woman of her right to work, nor does it affect her civil rights.

These principles are reflected not only in the Marriage Law but also in the legal provisions guaranteeing the conditions required for the welfare of the family.

The family represents that primary reality which exerts a constant, enduring influence upon a person's continuing development, and which has the strongest, longest and deepest influence upon a child's upbringing, emotional and intellectual as well as physical. However, for parents to fulfil their educational role in keeping with the demands of the times, they must not restrict their responsibilities merely to material maintenance of the child for the first six or seven years of its life. They, and above all the mother, must know the essentials of child care and hygiene, education and domestic science, and this must go hand in hand with a politically conscious and serious attitude to the world and a general cultural background that meets contemporary demands—which are all the time becoming greater as society advances.

Some psychologists and sociologists claim that occupational obligations and the desire of women to advance their careers remove them from their families and conflict with their duties as mothers. Others, on the contrary, declare that with the realization of her potentialities, achievements at work and the attainment of professional goals, a woman's personality will be more fully developed, making her still more competent to fulfil her role in the family as wife, mother, and able educator of her children. We also put these questions to ourselves, and discussed them at a nation-wide symposium held in June, 1969, on the topic of "The Social Status of the Wo-

man Office and Factory Worker in the Socialist Republic of Romania". The points made there, and the conclusions drawn indicated that it was necessary to look still further afield in order to strike a balance between women's career ambitions and family ideals. It is necessary that the atmosphere in the family be one of friendly warmth, providing an emotional background that serves as a powerful and constant influence on the moral and spiritual development of each member of the family. Through its moral constancy, the family creates the conditions and means for the promotion of the psychological and moral health of its members.

For the family to adapt to the demands of modern civilization, action is necessary in three directions—society, the family and the individual. Such action is being promoted by economic and social measures, that are becoming increasingly effective, by the development of the production of household appliances and equipment, by the greater availability of semi-prepared foods, etc.

Within the family it becomes necessary for there to be a reallocation of roles and a division of work in such a way as to make it possible for husband and wife to carry out their professional and occupational tasks, bring up their children properly, and enjoy a harmonious family life. For every person, man or woman, it is most important that the best use be made of leisure time for relaxation and, especially, for improving their education and qualifications and for cultural pursuits.

One of the most important questions today is that of the implementation of the Leninist principle of the equality of women with men in the

sphere of work. Women can and must combine work with their home responsibilities, for under socialism work is the most powerful factor in developing one's social consciousness and educating and shaping the human being.

MARIA DINKOVA, Member of the Editorial Board of the magazine "Bulgarian Woman" (Bulgarian People's Republic)

Formation of a New Type of Family Under Socialism

Lenin maintained that the women's movement should serve to enhance woman's social status, bringing her out of a world of individual motherhood into one of social motherhood.

In Bulgaria the women's movement is helping to carry out the purposeful, scientifically grounded policy of the Party and the socialist state in the matter of forming a new type of family, a family that, as an integral part of society, provides the most favourable environment for the development of the human personality.

Article 76 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria states: "Marriage and the family are under the protection of the state."

The Family Code regulates family relationships in such a way as to consolidate the family as society's chief nucleus, on the basis of complete equality between men and women, of help, affection and respect among all members of the

family, and of an effort to bring up the children in conformity with the spirit of socialist morality. This article of the Family Code is being implemented with some difficulty in an atmosphere of struggle against outdated traditions.

Our quarter-century of practical experience demands that Bulgarian society further develop its policy concerning the family. This requires in the first place, the elaboration of the concept of the development of the family under socialism.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism did not make any forecasts about the family of the future, believing that that would be the job of the generation which would grow up under socialism. We are that generation and must therefore fulfil this obligation.

Marxism-Leninism had always maintained that the family of the future will undergo many changes, most of which cannot be foreseen at the present time. And even though society will undertake some of the family's functions or will considerably restrict some aspects of its activity, the family will remain. The following arguments may be adduced to support this point of view.

In the first place, there are two main forms of assimilating the knowledge and social experience of preceding generations. These are the traditional form and the rational form. The family has, understandably, long allowed various social and cultural institutions to shoulder the task of rational education and upbringing, reserving to itself a relatively restricted field in this respect. However, it carries out one of the main tasks of character training, namely that of traditional training—and we think it will continue to do so. The specific feature here is that knowledge is

handed on through the realities of life, against the background of concrete instances of an actually existing complex of actions, ties and relations between the persons in the individual's milieu. Within the family the child comes into contact with people of all ages in the most different situations, and thus has far greater opportunities to learn about the surrounding world in the traditional way. But at the same time, the social institutions that exist for children place the child mainly among his peers, who have no social experience and knowledge at all, or, if they do, only to a most insignificant extent. For this reason, such an environment, if it is all the child has, greatly limits the formation of his individuality.

At the same time, in the process of training and upbringing, and especially so in the latter field, the emotions and the understanding which develop between the teacher or tutor and his charge play a tremendous role. The human being adapts to the standards of conduct of society and develops his own set of values, that rest on an emotional approach as well as on a rational one, since this is both a rational and emotional set of values. The stabler and the stronger the relationship and understanding between teacher and charge, the greater the confidence and trust with which the charge assimilates the experience and knowledge that his teacher gives him. In turn, trust is of exceptional importance in the formation of the child, as the child himself is in no position as yet to analyze the situations that occur in life.

As the relations between parents and their children incorporate a most complex, stable and effective set of emotions, the family thus provides

an environment for bringing up children, which social institutions of a different kind are only able to complement, not provide.

In the second place, the human being's varied needs are met today by numerous establishments which narrow down or completely eliminate the family functions required to keep house. The trend is such that under communism much of the work of house-keeping will become a social industry.

Still, the human being is a creature whose needs as regards home comforts and conveniences, meals, clothes, and health, keep growing. We think that no social organization will ever be flexible enough to cater for the tastes of every individual. But the small family unit does possess this flexibility; it is able to respond at any moment to some specific, purely individual, unforeseen want. Because of this the family will always be irreplaceable when it comes to rendering speedy and flexible assistance in everyday life.

In the third place, the individual's inner world is at peace when he feels safe and obtains recognition. The opportunities that socialism and communism furnish in this respect cannot be denied. However, to gratify all his needs within the complex system of this type of society, the human being at the same time participates in the activities of numerous and different institutions one after another, where he is assessed differently, with one appraisal sometimes contradicting another. For this reason, he stands in need of a constant microenvironment stably oriented to his individuality and never depriving him of the necessary support. Such a microenvironment,

which the human being needs at every stage of life, but especially at a tender age, is provided, again, by the mechanism of the family.

In its historical evolution the family has displayed an extreme measure of flexibility and adaptability, discharging varied biological, cultural, economic and other functions. Under socialism and communism it is freed from economic functions, retaining, as we see it, three main functions—the creation of human beings both in the biological and spiritual senses, the assimilation and further development of the cultural heritage, and the arrangement of the family's everyday life.

Under socialism and communism the family will be able to give far more in carrying out these functions than it ever gave under earlier types of social system. This is because it will be able to concentrate on the most complex and important tasks related to the development of the human personality—which is the main concern under communism.

Lenin always regarded family problems as an element of the basic social issue, since the family and society are bound together by many threads, and influence and condition one another. Society is interested in a socio-economic policy with relation to the family that will preserve those functions of the family that are needed under socialism and communism.

With the co-operation of the various branches of science, we must persistently seek a model in family life that will provide the most beneficial conditions for the development of the family's cultural and educative functions, the professional advancement of both the working partners,

and efficient mutual assistance in the family in a way that will save as much time as possible.

In the light of these trends the family becomes an important centre, with much depending on how well it discharges its social functions. The Bulgarian Communist Party in the directives issued at its 8th and 9th Congresses, plans that by 1980 the Bulgarian home will be a place for relaxation and cultural entertainment, affording parents adequate time for bringing up their children. In the effort to carry out these directives we must strive to develop model localities and living accommodation that fulfil the needs of socialist families of various sizes and structures. We must also organize institutions for children, which will, in the first place, achieve a balanced combination between social and family training and, in the second place, make it as easy as possible for working parents to look after their children. Our record of achievement in building up a well-conceived and rational system of creches, kindergartens, sanatoriums and summer camps for children, as well as playgrounds, clubs, schools and holiday homes, makes it incumbent upon us to enrich the forms employed and not feel daunted by new ideas and experimentation.

As soon as we are in a position to do so, our society must pay special attention to giving further material assistance to young families. In 1969 the Bulgarian Council of Ministers issued a special decision whereby such families are given preference in the allotment of housing. This measure has set the stage for a future consistent policy, as society is interested in removing the difficulties of everyday life that interfere with the proper formation of family relationships.

We would also like to indicate another way in which socialist society is capable of giving families material assistance. A family's income should depend to a greater degree on the number of children in the family. We are proud of the fact that in our country measures are being taken to make family life easier by granting to all categories of workers large lump-sum and monthly payments for children. This applies to factory or office employees, farmers and students alike. Since January 1, 1968, the lump-sum grant for each new baby has gone up to 500 leva, while the size of the monthly grant per child has gone up to 35 leva. This assistance will increase as the public funds grow, and other forms of assistance will also be found.

The old traditional way of things will not be rooted out and the new type of family formed solely as a result of the measures taken to guarantee equality between men and women and high ethical standards of the whole of society. We believe that a persistent and systematic study must be made of the processes that are taking place in the modern family. Unfortunately, we are lagging behind in this kind of study, and have only recently made a start on concrete sociological and socio-psychological family surveys. The first study, regarding birth rates among the working women of Kazanlik where the percentage of women employed is highest, was conducted on the initiative of the magazine *Bulgarian Woman*. And at the present time the results of an extensive survey of nation-wide importance concerning women's status at work and in the family are being analyzed. This survey was organized by the joint efforts of the State Information Admi-

nistration, the Bulgarian Women's Committee and the Central Council of Trade Unions. And a further sociological and psychological study of the typical features of the modern wife and mother is being carried out.

At the same time attention must be given to a more detailed analysis of the ideological means whereby society influences the family.

Relations within the family and various aspects of the family's activity, are conditioned by the ideology and culture of its environment through the complex mechanism of its adaptation to the models and standards of conduct and the set of values which this environment offers the family as a guideline. The inevitable influence on the family of old traditions will be erased all the more successfully, the greater the talent and inventiveness we display in creating our own set of values by means of which people can determine how best to discharge their roles as husband and wife, as parents and as children, and the sooner we produce, by scientific methods, models appropriate to socialism for the functioning of that institution which is known as the family.

The new type of socialist family, which is emerging in our countries, is shaking off the contradictions characteristic of the middle-class family of capitalist society. This new family is stepping out onto the stage of history as one of the greatest and most striking achievements of social progress. And the more effectively and purposefully we help the family to overcome the difficulties and conflicts caused by the inertia of tradition, the greater the extent to which we help it to discharge its cultural and educative functions,

the sooner we are able to create a socialist culture for the family, the more distinctly will this socialist family disclose its advantages and superiority to the family of capitalist society.

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Aid Given by the State and Public Organizations to Promote Rational Housekeeping and Assist in the Bringing Up of Children

This Leninist symposium is assisting us in the work we are doing among women by acquainting us with the experience that has been accumulated in carrying out Lenin's ideas in countries that are building socialism.

In Poland, as throughout the modern world generally, we see the increasing employment of women in socially useful work as a logical development of the economic and social changes that are taking place. In 1968 women made up 38 per cent of the total labour force employed in the socialized sector of our economy. Surveys show that two out of every three married urban women are employed in production. Women's growing and more energetic part in the country's

social and political affairs is an indication of their growing civic awareness and feeling that they bear an equal measure of responsibility for the country's destinies and development.

The changed status of women in society and in the economy make it imperative for society to make it easier for them to combine their family duties with outside employment and social activity. The fact that women are engaged in work in production does not lessen the family's economic and educative functions. By economic functions we mean housekeeping, which the tremendous technological progress of recent years has, as yet, done little to modify in any way. Hence, it is important to reduce the time spent on housekeeping by putting out better household appliances and utensils, extending the public services and getting all members of the family to share in the domestic work.

The accomplishment of this programme is most important for women, as it will reduce the physical burden that they have to shoulder and the time spent on household chores, while affording more time for cultural development, for spending with the children, for relaxation and sleep.

In our country, as in other socialist states, the Party, the government and society as a whole are successfully tackling a number of complex problems in order to make the complete emancipation of women a reality. To this end, everything possible is being done to develop the consumer industry, widen the range of articles offered and increase the number of shops and public services.

The 1969 statistical yearbook tells us that in

1968 58 out of every 100 households owned washing machines and 20 had domestic refrigerators. Over the past ten years sales of refrigerators, vacuum cleaners and washing machines have multiplied by 17, 35 and 61 times respectively. The number of self-service shops is growing, more semi-prepared foods are being made available and there are more facilities now for having foodstuffs delivered straight to the door. But despite the great record of achievement and the increasing allocation of funds for these purposes, the levels reached are still failing to keep pace with the growing demand and therefore we are continuing to focus attention on these matters.

The Polish Women's Council and its domestic economy commission attach great importance to housekeeping problems. This means more than providing the home with enough appliances and other things. It means more than providing a well-organized network of shops and public services. It means that the general organization of society and of the economy must be such that the family, as society's smallest yet most important unit, is able to perform one of its major functions.

Poland has a total of eight million households in town and country. In the urban areas alone 200,000 million zlotys are spent annually on housekeeping. So the financial basis is there: the important thing is to know how to keep house rationally. In our country, there are a number of offices and organizations that concern themselves with seeing that the people get the necessary knowledge and know-how. These include

the urban and rural co-operatives, housewives' clubs, public organizations dealing with political education and cultural enlightenment, the Opinia Consumers' Co-operation Bureau, the Housekeeping Committee of the Women's League and, the research institutes of nutrition and food, of mother and child welfare, of farm economics, of the medical aspects of work in agriculture and rural hygiene, and the State Institute of Hygiene.

The Housekeeping Committee and the Opinia Bureau deal with the educational side of housekeeping, appraise household appliances and utensils, foods and chemicals and also analyze surveys on the organization of domestic work. The decision to produce more of one or another commodity or whether to discontinue output, and whether to make changes in design and manufacture are based on the conclusions of these surveys. The Spolem and Samopomoc Chlopska co-operatives are making a particularly valuable contribution to the more rational housekeeping in both town and country. They do much to educate the men as well as the women, and especially the younger generation, as regards health, hygiene, rational and fashionable clothing, and interior decoration in the home.

This work is carried on with the assistance of shopping centres which arrange competitions, displays and courses. For example, in 1969, the co-operatives in town and country organized 15,000 courses for 300,000 people and also 90,000 displays in which 2,300,000 people were involved. Lectures and talks are also arranged.

Seven years ago, the Spolem Co-operative organized its first "Practical Woman" centres of

which there are now 560. These centres are responsible for the educational work of the co-operative in the sphere of housekeeping and the public services. The rural co-operatives employ similar methods, and over the past three years have set up 1,700 "Modern Housewife" centres in the villages. Housewives' clubs in rural areas, together with courses in domestic science, also run a three-year advanced training course in agriculture, which incorporates, among other things, instruction in child nutrition and upbringing.

The syllabus for the eight-year school includes instruction in domestic science for all pupils, girls and boys, from the fifth to the eighth form.

Trade-union and youth organizations, the Society for the Dissemination of Knowledge, and the Institute of Advanced Training, also contribute to popularizing knowledge of housekeeping. There are also special radio and TV programmes on housekeeping subjects. Finally, five magazines are published for women, apart from the *Housekeeping* bulletin put out by the Housekeeping Committee.

The family's second extremely important function concerns the upbringing of children. The results achieved in this sphere greatly depend on the atmosphere in the home and the outlook of the parents, especially the mother. However, the best results are achieved only when the efforts of the home, the school, and of public organizations are combined into one composite system. To this end, the Polish women's movement employs various methods to instruct parents in teaching, to help parents, especially mothers, to

create a home atmosphere that is conducive to a proper upbringing, to assist in character training, especially in the choice of interests and hobbies, to give boys and girls a healthy respect for manual work, and to teach them to be kind and tactful to the people around them.

For Polish people a child is the greatest treasure. During the past war and the nightmare of the nazi occupation 1,800,000 Polish children perished. More than 200,000 were taken from their parents and carried off into nazi Germany, from where only 30 to 40 thousand returned. In 1945, of our seven million children of school age, 22.2 per cent were homeless and most of these were orphans. About three million were in need of some sort of help.

The most important task of the first post-war years was to create the necessary conditions required for the physical rehabilitation of the children. After this it was necessary to reorganize the entire educational system. Before the war, in 1937-38, the various existing children's institutions cared for only 8.7 per cent of the total number of children.

Today matters concerning children and young people—their health, education, training, and recreation—are the concern of the entire nation. Organizations and institutions which concern themselves with the welfare of the young are increasing all the time. The co-operatives, the trade unions, youth organizations, women's organizations, parents' and house committees, associations, societies and various state establishments are playing a growing role in the upbringing of children. Thanks to such extensive in-

terest remarkable progress has already been made although much remains to be done.

In 1967 we had 1,037 creches, of which only 38 were of a seasonal type. In the 1968-69 school year the country's 16,290 kindergartens had an enrolment of almost 700,000 under-sevens, comprising 42.1 per cent and 23.4 per cent respectively of the total number of urban and rural children of between three and six. This means that the existing kindergartens were capable of accommodating one out of every two children in this age group in the urban areas, and one out of every four in the rural areas. In the 1968-69 school year, the 1,722 school hostels boarded 242,000 school pupils. At the same time the 285 university and college hostels accommodated 41.8 per cent of the total student body. A total of 26,000 children are cared for in semi-boarding schools, 345,800 children of working parents enjoy prolonged-day facilities, and a million children have their midday meal at school.

Educational work is also carried on at the five Youth Palaces, the 34 houses of culture for young people and the 96 children's houses of culture which have a total of 5,000 hobby groups. It should also be mentioned that there are 350,000 recipients of scholarship grants, and that today, after 25 years of people's government, we are able to provide organized facilities to accommodate three million children during the summer holidays.

We realize that the country's future lies in the hands of the younger generation, to whom the nation will bequeath its revolutionary traditions.

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slovak Socialist Republic)*

The Working Woman and Home Life

When considering the question of woman's status in the family and in socialist society we are moved to feelings of sincere admiration for the splendid writings and amazing life of the great revolutionary, political leader, philosopher and peerless man, Lenin. We are guided by the Marxist-Leninist view of women's place in society. The Great October Socialist Revolution that was led by Lenin charted the one and only sure road to the emancipation of women throughout the world.

This revolution had a profound influence on the movement for the equality of women in Czechoslovakia too. Lenin's ideas, which triumphed in the process of the October Revolution in Russia, greatly influenced the emergence and development of Czechoslovakia as a state, and also the subsequent legislation on the family.

After the Soviet Army liberated Czechoslovakia in 1945, the way was open for us to implement Lenin's ideas concerning equality for women in the economy, social affairs and the family.

In the spirit of Lenin's teachings the masses of women throughout the country, including Slovakia, were enlisted in socially useful work. In the process of the industrialization of formerly backward, agrarian Slovakia, the part played by women in its economic, political and

cultural affairs grew from day to day. By 1968 women made up 43.1 per cent of the entire labour force employed in the economy. In the fields of education, health and the public services the percentage of women is still higher. In the 1968-69 academic year, more than 40 per cent of the students enrolled at universities and colleges were women.

Still, despite the marked progress towards women's equality in Czechoslovakia, we cannot consider the emancipation of women to be complete or relieved of all the complex problems and conflicts attending the process.

One must first note the two-fold burden that women have to carry. This is a social issue that confronts not only Czechoslovakia, and is a result of women's increasing employment in socially useful work and the insufficiency of institutions and services to lighten housework and help with the bringing up of children. Even though in our country households are generally equipped with the necessary labour-saving devices women spend a total of 13-14 hours a day at work and on housekeeping. This puts too great a strain on her health and robs her of her leisure time.

Some women forego personal ambitions and careers for their families, which, naturally, has an adverse affect on the development of the socialist family as one of a higher type based on equal partnership in marriage in all spheres of life. It is small wonder that, because of the heavy burden which women carry, the divorce rate is climbing. Today in every 100 marriages we have 17.4 divorces. Our society must reduce the social causes of divorce to the absolute minimum.

In the first place we must improve the exist-

ing forms of social assistance enabling women to discharge their functions in the family, at work and in social affairs with equal success. Otherwise the trend towards a lower birth-rate will continue, notions about a dangerous "feminization" of certain professions will persist, and the inclination to reduce the proportion of women working in production will continue.

In our efforts to tackle the question of women's place in society and overcome all the difficulties, we derive support from Lenin's warning that emancipation of women would be a protracted, complex and purposeful process under socialism. Lenin considered that a woman's socially useful work outside the home was a necessary factor for her full emancipation. However, he did not think that this was the whole answer and that it would bring about the equality of men and women automatically. Along with the task of reorganizing petty domestic chores into a large socialist industry, he also regarded creches and kindergartens which undertake much of the work of child care, as "shoots of communism" that had to be carefully nursed. But although he considered this a concern of the nation as a whole, indeed a requisite for the successful advance to communism, he stressed that the main initiative should come from the women themselves. He also attached great importance to the effort to combat ingrained prejudices which maintained that the woman should always carry the burden of housekeeping. "We must stamp out the old slave-owning concept down to its smallest roots," he said, "both within the Party and among the people. This is one of our political objectives."

We are aware of the full complexity of establishing full equality between men and women in present-day Czechoslovakia, and see that difficulties inevitably arise in the effort to solve the question of women's place in society. But we must also realize that failure to properly understand the issue could aggravate subjective mistakes. There is a particular danger of this when rapidly increasing numbers of women take part in socially useful employment if this process is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in all forms of services to lighten the work in the home.

The still markedly unequal division of household work between men and women shows that the drive against ingrained prejudices and traditional notions as to the role of the two in family life, has still to be elevated—notwithstanding all the great results we have achieved—to the level of a political task as Lenin understood it. Our organization will continue to base its work on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Lenin's view of the status of women under socialism.

We are strengthening our fraternal relations with the Soviet Union, relations which were born out of our joint struggle against German fascism and during the Slovak national uprising.

The Slovak national uprising is a glorious and heroic chapter in our history. The people, led by the Communist Party, rose in armed battle against the traitors within the country and the fascist occupationists, demonstrating their unity with the Czechs in the common cause. This heroic page in the history of the nation could not have been written, however, without the tremendous

assistance of the USSR. Many Soviet soldiers and Slovak partisans sacrificed their lives for the cause.

As a participant in the Slovak national uprising, and as a former partisan, I must note that we learned to strike out at the fascists from the example of the heroic men and women of the USSR, such as Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, Liza Chaikina, and Alexander Matrosov. Hundreds of Soviet people fought in our partisan units and today Tatra spruces rustle above the graves of many, who gave their lives for our country's freedom. This is why our friendship with the Soviet Union is so firm, a friendship for all time to come. And it is why we value so highly the international assistance the Soviet Union gave us in 1968. Otherwise, socialist Czechoslovakia would be no more.

It is no wonder that the friendship between the women of Czechoslovakia and their Soviet sisters is unbreakable.

YEUDOKIA KARPOVA, Vice-Chairman, RSFSR Council of Ministers (USSR)

Further Improvement of the Community Services for Soviet Families

The programme principle of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—everything in the name of man and for the good of man—is embo-

died in the plans for our country's economic advancement.

The Soviet state allocates tremendous funds every year to raise wages and salaries and provide for free education, pensions, health services, the building of housing and cultural and general amenities and other social undertakings.

Because of the levels now reached in the economic development of the USSR, we are in a position to concentrate more on those branches of production which will improve living conditions and reduce the time spent on housekeeping.

An analysis of the population's time budget shows that half the time spent on housekeeping is taken up with the buying and preparation of food. This is why the further development of public catering is of such immense importance. We are constantly reminded of what Lenin said to the effect that communal dining-rooms and canteens, together with creches and kindergartens, are the beginnings of communism, "which can *really emancipate women*, really lessen and abolish their inequality with men as regards their role in social production and public life."

Today the USSR has more than 230,000 public catering establishments and this number is constantly increasing. At the same time there is a growth in such services as the provision of semi-prepared foods, and the sale by restaurants and canteens of hot meals to take home at a 10 per cent discount. Special attention is given to organizing the sale of semi-prepared foods right at factory or office.

In the Russian Federation alone, between 1966 and 1969, factories opened more than 5,800 "food

sections" outfitted with all the necessary kitchen appliances and refrigerating equipment, where the working woman can not only eat but can also buy packets of peeled and chopped or shredded vegetables as well as semi-prepared meat, fish and other dishes. Before weekends and holidays special displays of such foods are arranged, and it is possible not only to buy them but also to obtain expert advice on how to cook and serve dishes. Special hampers can be ordered too.

In short, much has been achieved in this field, although a great deal remains to be done. It is necessary especially to raise the standard and range of dishes offered and of semi-prepared foods on sale, to have more efficient service and to site public catering establishments more rationally. During the current Ninth Five-Year Plan, we are trying to do all these things.

In our country the public services comprise an independent branch of the national economy, and, in order to direct it, special ministries were set up in 1965 in every union and autonomous republic, and special departments in regions and territories.

Local initiative plays a part in raising the standard and further developing the public services. Thus each administrative division, from republic downwards, has its own public commission which deals with the public services, and which puts the related issues before bodies of government and other organizations. This is all helping to improve things in this field and to correctly plan the operation of this branch of the economy.

Between 1965 and 1969 more than 1,200 million roubles was spent on the construction and

reconditioning of community service establishments. It is important to note also that all accumulations in this branch of the economy are used for its further development—a situation we do not have in any other industry or service.

We have special research and design offices as well as a number of higher and specialized secondary educational establishments that cater for the community services, and the most up-to-date equipment is introduced. For example, there are modern automated equipment installed at many dry-cleaning establishments, the new and highly efficient laundromats which the public find most convenient and cheap, or the conveyor-line methods employed to mend clocks and watches, shoes and boots, and other things. As they are cheap, these community services are quite within the reach of everyone's pocket.

Tall, handsome buildings of modern architectural design providing all the conveniences for the customer are being put up to house community services complexes. For instance, one such complex in Leningrad with a total floor space of 5,000 square metres caters for thousands daily, offering over fifty different services, including the mending of clocks, watches and cameras, dry cleaning, hair dressing and an experimental shop with its own showroom making knitwear to order. Similar complexes can be found in many cities.

Extremely popular are the Soviet type of "Universal Aunts" bureaus, to which one can apply by telephone or in person to have a hundred-and-one odd jobs done, from house repairs to choosing a birthday present. Another convenient service is offered by the various rental shops set up

at blocks of flats and student hostels which hire out articles for the house and for various cultural purposes. Similar rental services, but operating only through the warm season, hire out sports gear and toys at parks, gardens, bathing beaches and other recreational areas.

Although a varied range of more than 400 different kinds of services are offered at present, the availability of most is still not in keeping with the demand. In the five-year period ending in 1975, particularly intensive development of the community services is planned. The volume of such services in 1975 is to be between two and two and a half times greater than in 1970.

Special importance is attached to improving the services offered to the rural population, whose demands, because of their rising material and cultural standards, have changed fundamentally. Farmers' homes today have an increasing number of TV sets and various household appliances. The demand in the countryside for all the latest in clothing, footwear and hair styles, is growing, and there is a big demand for house building and repair and other types of service. For that reason, it is planned to develop the community services at a particularly fast pace in the countryside. Although much still remains to be done, there are already a number of regions where practically every farm has its community services establishment.

Scientific and technical contacts and business ties with the socialist countries are helping to promote the community services. Over a period of several years now our technological community services research institute has been co-operating with the public utilities research institutes

of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia and community services workers in the Russian Federation have been collaborating with their opposite numbers in Bulgaria. Finally, Hungarian experts are helping to outfit our establishments with the required instrumentation for TV repairs.

In the Soviet Union, development of the community services goes hand in hand with the mechanization of household chores. The special ministry organized to supervise the making of machinery for light industry and the food industry, also directs the production of household appliances. Many heavy industry enterprises also make such appliances as a side-line. Still the demand for appliances is not yet fully met, although they are playing an increasing role in Soviet homes.

Much is to be done over the five years ending in 1975 to increase the manufacture of all labour-saving devices for the home. Still, even this will not completely relieve the housewife or other members of the family from chores around the house. For example, we have almost completely filled the demand for washing machines. But this does not mean that there is no washing to be done. It is easier to do, of course, but it still takes time. Therefore I wish to emphasize once again that the best way to help reduce the work of the housewife is to extend and improve the community services establishments and at the same time mechanize individual housekeeping as far as possible.

The state guarantees extensive rights to women. But still more important are the social

and economic guarantees that enable Soviet women to be full and equal citizens of their country.

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Infant-and-Maternity Welfare

The problem of public health was among the most important problems which demanded the attention of Lenin, who considered it to be inseparable from the political tasks facing the proletariat.

The establishment and development of the network of mother-and-child institutions is also associated with the name of Vladimir Lenin.

On December 28, 1917, Lenin signed a decree on the organization of a Department on Infant-and-Maternity Welfare. This decree meant that the welfare of mother and child became the concern of the state. To be a mother is the civic duty of every Soviet woman.

Under the difficult conditions of 1918-20 Lenin signed several decrees, among which were the decrees aimed at reducing the high child mortality rate. One of the decrees said in part: "Two million lives which had just begun to glimmer on earth were every year quenched in Russia because of the ignorance of the oppressed people, and because of the stagnation and indifference of the class state. Every year two million suffering mothers shed bitter tears on

the Russian soil, filling up with their toil-hardened hands the graves of the innocent victims of the ugly state structure. Human thought which for centuries has been searching for a way out, has at last forced its way into a better epoch, where the working class can with their own hands develop forms of infant-and-maternity welfare which will preserve a mother for a child and a child for a mother."

The same period witnessed the adoption of laws on the protection of the employment of pregnant women and mothers who breast-fed their babies. A start was made on the construction of a broad network of mother-and-child institutions.

Now we are witnessing the great changes that have taken place in the country within the years of Soviet power.

These years have seen the creative development of the working people of the Ukraine—a member of the fraternal family of the Soviet peoples. Our republic has turned into one of the most industrially developed republics of our country, with a mechanized and diversified agriculture, and a high level of scientific, cultural and educational development. Our health service has also made great strides and the Ukraine, like the rest of the Soviet Union, now has a developed network of medical establishments. There are 112.5 thousand doctors, which is twelve times as many as in 1913; in 1969 the republic had 24.1 doctors per 10,000 of the population.

Our country not only has more doctors per thousand of the population than any other state of the world, but it has trained a medical

worker of a new type—devoted to the care of the people, well-educated, and brought up on the principles of communist morality and having a highly developed sense of civic duty.

Ukrainian scientists are making a significant contribution to the development of medical science and the training of personnel.

A great deal has been done in the field of preventive medicine, and serious infectious diseases have become a thing of the past. Cases of malaria, trachoma, poliomyelitis and diphtheria are extremely rare. There are significantly less TB and measles patients.

The infant-and-maternity welfare system begun by Lenin has been constantly developed and improved during the years of Soviet rule. The republic now has a differentiated network of medical establishments in all towns and villages, and there are sufficient maternity homes for the requirements of the population.

Numerous centres for the care of mothers and children and the provision of infant food, nurseries, kindergartens, health-building areas in the parks, pioneers' camps and sanatoria help parents to bring up healthy children.

New babies today are stronger. They weigh more and have wider chest. The physical development of children has improved strikingly. While in 1946 the average height of 17-year-old boys was 160 centimetres, the respective figure today is 172 centimetres. The average life expectancy in the Ukraine today is 72 years (68 years for men and 75 years for women).

The achievements of the health service in the Ukraine, as in the other national republics of the Soviet Union, testify to the advantages of

the socialist system over the capitalist system.

As Marxist-Leninists we strictly adhere to our internationalist duty to the peoples of developing countries and of those states which are fighting against imperialism.

Hundreds of highly-skilled medical specialists from the Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union are today working in these countries. We receive many letters from many countries, and particularly from the women of Vietnam who thank us for the medical supplies sent to them through the Red Cross Society, and for our help in training medical specialists from among their own people in the colleges and schools of the Ukraine.

The theoretical principles underlying the Soviet health service and Soviet medical science as a whole were formed in the struggle against alien ideological trends. The health service and medicine have always been the scene of struggle between materialism and idealism, dialectics and metaphysics, reflecting the acute and irreconcilable contradictions between the two opposite social systems—socialism and capitalism. The pseudo-scientific theories and views of some ideologists of bourgeois medicine and social hygiene have been subjected to severe criticism from the positions of Marxism-Leninism. The most popular of these theories are those which expound the biological inequality of races and classes, and the division of mankind into higher and lower races, which found their ultimate expression in fascism with its theory and practice of genocide.

Malthusians and neo-Malthusians are against health-building and prophylactic measures, for

they hold that, by fighting disease and lowering the death rate, health services interfere with the natural extermination of the weak and retarded, thus increasing the discrepancy between the population growth and the increase in the means of subsistence.

Freudism and Neo-Freudism which enjoy great popularity among Western medical workers, especially in the USA, ignore the role of material conditions of life and assert that the class struggle is a manifestation, not of social, but of psychological laws.

The Soviet health service bases itself on the Marxist-Leninist teaching on nature, society and man who is regarded the most valuable productive force. According to the materialistic outlook, man is not only a biological organism, but primarily a social being, and medicine is not only a natural science but also a social science. From this stems the socio-hygienic and prophylactic orientation of the Soviet health service.

The Programme of the Soviet Communist Party says: "The Party considers it a most important task to ensure the education from early childhood of a sound young generation harmoniously developed physically and spiritually."

Today our country has started on the building of a communist society. The closer the country moves towards communism, the more do socio-economic conditions become a source of health and a guarantee of the harmonious physical and spiritual development of the people.

The extension of the network of children's medical institutions and the higher standard of medical care will make it possible to direct the main efforts on prophylactic measures. Future

generations of young people will be increasingly healthy. Soviet medical workers are confident in the future, and are achieving new victories in the fight for the health of the entire people.

I am a doctor and I cannot find words to express my anger against the American aggressors who are trying to exterminate the Vietnamese people. I also share the sufferings of the Arab women and children who are the victims of the Israeli extremists.

We are only too well aware what war means for the ordinary people. During the years of the Great Patriotic War I had to change my specialty of neurologist for that of neurosurgeon—I was saving the lives of people with injuries of the brain and of the spinal cord.

I would like to address our friends who are taking part in this Symposium, as a doctor and as a mother, with the following words:

Dear friends, let us be vigilant, let us strengthen our solidarity for the sake of the future of our planet and in the name of our children. Let us be true to the ideas of proletarian internationalism bequeathed to us by Lenin.

Part 5.

*The Forms and Methods
of Work Among Women in
Socialist Countries*

ILSE THIELE, Chairman of the Democratic Women's Union of Germany (German Democratic Republic)

The Forms and Methods of Work with Women in the German Democratic Republic

Two successful revolutions in the German Democratic Republic—an antifascist-democratic revolution and a socialist revolution—have provided conditions for effecting a radical change in the lives of women. Our efforts and experience confirm Lenin's teaching that only a government of workers and peasants can achieve the genuine emancipation of women. The great traditions of the German revolutionary working-class movement, which are associated above all with the names of August Bebel and Klara Zetkin, are of great value to us.

Ever since its formation, our Party has been working on the problems connected with wo-

men's rights on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and guided by the practical experience of the Soviet Union. It has based its approach on Lenin's instruction that the question of the position of women in society should be regarded as a part of the social labour question closely associated with the proletarian class struggle and revolution.

With implicit confidence in the strength and creative capacity of the working people, our Party has spared no efforts in order that women's immense talents and abilities may be employed for the benefit of all, and also for their own benefit.

In June, 1945, the Communist Party of Germany called on the working people to take into their own hands the building of a new society. This tremendous task, the Party knew, could never be accomplished unless women took part in it. It called upon women to join in the fight against imperialism and militarism and to take an active part in building an anti-fascist democratic German Republic. The Party's call was made, not just because women at that time made up the greater part of the population, but because this was the proper course to adopt, consistent with the principles of Marxism-Leninism which teaches us that there can be no really mass movement without women.

Proceeding from the thesis formulated by Lenin in 1917, when he was elaborating the new Party Programme, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in its policy document "The Principles and Objectives of the Party," issued in 1946, proclaimed the "equality of all citizens before the law, irrespective of race or sex, and equal

rights for women in the social and professional fields."

As the leading force of society, the Party headed the struggle for achieving practical equality for women and declared work on this question to be a general Party task. All Party committees set up special departments which play an important part in solving practical problems concerned with work among women.

Trade union committees everywhere set up women's production committees and women's sections. They were entrusted with carrying on political and ideological work among women, with drawing them into trade union activities, ensuring women's active participation in production, protecting their constitutional rights, and with providing special conditions for mothers.

Our Party considered it of great importance to establish a single democratic women's organization. The Democratic Women's Union, founded in Germany in 1947, set out to unite all women, regardless of party affiliation. The aim of this organization is to keep women informed on political problems and to draw them into practical work in every sphere of the country's life. The fact that the democratic parties refused to set up women's groups or organizations of their own was a major achievement of the principled political work that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany had conducted in that direction.

After the establishment of the German Democratic Republic equal rights for women were achieved in a relatively short time, and, actually, it seemed to us then that the main job had been done. The women's departments of Party Committees curtailed their activities somewhat. The

trade unions prematurely concluded that there was no need for trade union committees to have any special bodies for the protection of women's rights, and disbanded them.

But it was soon realized that this should not have been done. Practice confirmed the correctness of Lenin's warning that, important as it was to ensure women's equality before the law, it was much more difficult to solve a more complex problem—that of providing for their actual equality in every sphere of life.

We understood this when, early in the fifties, we embarked upon a large-scale systematic development of the national economy and began laying the foundations of socialism.

There was an urgent need for women to participate widely in the work of national construction. Lenin teaches us that the more far-reaching the reforms to be effected, the more necessary it is for the mass of the people to take an interest in them and to be informed about them.

Many women came to work at the factories. But it turned out that the trade union bodies were not prepared. They were unable to provide the necessary conditions for women to participate widely in production. The Party showed that the main reason for the difficulty in organizing work for women was the wrong attitude adopted by some factory committees and trade union leaders. The Party demanded an end to the underestimation of the role that could be played by women.

When it became known that these criticisms and instructions were not being sufficiently heeded and that no measures were being taken to safeguard women's rights, the Party advised wo-

men to set up women's committees at industrial and agricultural enterprises. The aim of these committees was to speed up the process of raising women's qualifications and to rally them to struggle for their interests.

Women's committees, as independent elected women's organizations, were invested with considerable powers.

They advanced women's political understanding and were instrumental in having more women promoted to leading trade union positions. The Party's decision on the setting up of women's committees was of great significance for securing equality for women in practice. It laid the foundation for all subsequent work in our Republic on questions relating to women.

We acted in accordance with Lenin's instructions, as explained by him in a conversation with Klara Zetkin. Lenin said that the Party should have certain bodies—working groups, commissions, committees, departments or whatever they might be called—whose special task would be to arouse the interest of women, bring them into contact with the Party and keep them under its influence. For this purpose the Party needed special organs of its own, special propaganda methods and forms of organization. This was not a question of bourgeois protection of "women's rights," it was practical revolutionary expediency.

Our Party always maintained close contact with the women's committees, consulted them on different problems, listened to their opinion and paid great attention to the questions put forward by women. To ensure constant contact with women's committees, all district Party committees instituted the office of instructor

whose job was to deal with all questions concerning work among women. This instructor organized active and experienced women Party members to conduct work among women. Subsequently these activists formed women's commissions at district and regional Party Committees. In 1958 a resolution was adopted to set up a women's commission at the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

On the whole, the Party continues to bear all responsibility for political work among women, but for everyday work with women Party Committees rely on women's commissions. The latter are not invested with any administrative powers with relation to the lower commissions. This method has proved of great worth.

At the same time the Party's instructions are that the trade unions should accept increasing responsibility for educating women in a spirit of class consciousness and for protecting their interests and demands. In the late fifties, women's commissions and departments were set up by all trade union committees, and new forms and methods of work with women began to develop successfully.

At present the trade unions are very actively engaged in political and organizing work among women directed at increasing their role in production under the conditions of the scientific-technological revolution.

The Party has done much work among women engaged in agriculture. For many years, the living and working conditions of peasant women were particularly hard. An added factor was the influence of backward views and traditions. There-

fore, in striving for equality for peasant women there were many problems.

The Party insisted that peasant women and women farm labourers should be given the same opportunity to develop their abilities as other working women. The Party encouraged the organization of women's committees at state farms and agricultural co-operatives. It mobilized the women themselves, in the first place, to work for the improvement of their living conditions. With the growth and strengthening of socialist agriculture, in the development of which women play a big part, the formerly independent women's committees were reorganized into women's commissions attached to the boards of agricultural producer co-operatives. Similar commissions also exist at the district and regional Councils for Agriculture and Food, as well as on a republican scale.

An important contribution to the work conducted among women is made by the Democratic Women's Union of Germany. The Party, in conformity with its aims and nature, has always and everywhere worked with the Union to develop the work among women of all sections of the population. We have a clear division of tasks. The Party bodies, trade unions and women's commissions at agricultural co-operatives deal mainly with the work to be conducted among women engaged in production. This means that the Democratic Women's Union of Germany is able to concentrate its attention and efforts wholly on working with women belonging to the petty-bourgeois sections and those who are not gainfully employed, so as to draw them into the building of socialism. The Union employs a varie-

ty of forms and methods of ideological work with women in residential areas, encouraging their desire to improve their education and take part in government as well as in cultural activities and the building of a socialist society.

The Democratic Women's Union of Germany, as a representative of all women, plays a substantial role in social and public life. For example, it has deputies in all people's representative bodies and a group of its own in the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic. This, too, serves to emphasize the role women are called upon to play in the building of socialism.

For our Party, the practical implementation of equal rights for women and the enlistment of women in tackling the tasks facing the Republic has never been a matter of tactics as is the case with many ruling parties in the capitalist countries—something which becomes particularly manifest at election time. With us, it is a principle consistent with our Marxist-Leninist outlook. That is why at every Party Congress, and at every stage of our development, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany never fails to concern itself with the questions of work with women and take measures to improve this work.

A particular role in this respect belongs to the communique "Woman—Peace and Socialism," adopted at the point when we entered a new phase of socialist construction. Having provided for the security of our borders, we resolved to embark upon the large-scale building of socialism, regardless of how the development of West Germany would proceed. And again we were faced with tasks which could be accomplished only by the strenuous effort of the whole people.

Having analyzed women's role in our socialist society and the achievements scored in the work conducted among women the Party pointed out that women's abilities and talents were still not being sufficiently utilized.

The Party charged all its members with carrying out more purposefully the decisions of the Party and government on drawing women further into the building of the new life.

The success achieved in the work among women was especially demonstrated by the Second Congress of the Women of the German Democratic Republic, held in 1969. The Congress showed that our women were closely linked with the state, that they had great achievements to their credit and that they had raised the level of their creative activity. The task now, the Congress decided, was that of educating women in the spirit of conscious responsibility for the common cause.

The Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, Walter Ulbricht, said:

"Working women, liberated from the fetters that bound them down the ages, are enjoying the rights and duties they have been afforded, are full of confidence in their own strength, and are applying their abilities in every field. They have become a significant factor in social progress; without them, the road of victory traversed by the German Democratic Republic over the past twenty years would have been unthinkable."

This road of success was not a simple one and the going was not easy.

Having before us the example of our Soviet

friends we tried to find a way of our own of achieving the equality of women in practice, just as they had done. With us, some distinctive methods of mass Party work have proved especially useful. These methods by no means imply any departure from our fundamental views in accordance with which the emancipation of women is inseparable from the general struggle for the emancipation and happiness of the people. Nor do they imply that in the German Democratic Republic the leading bodies of the Party, government, the economy and social organizations are relieved of the general responsibility for promoting the welfare and development of women. On the contrary, the Party has always done its best to assist, making available Party members, men and women, who have great experience of work in women's committees and other bodies in charge of work among women.

In this respect, we have already advanced far ahead. But life keeps presenting us with new problems to be solved, new tasks to be tackled in the work among women. These problems are those associated with the scientific-technological revolution, the automation of production processes, the shift to industrial methods of agriculture and also with the growing cultural requirements and further development of socialist society. We shall continue to do everything we can to enable women to take an ever greater part in the further growth and consolidation of the German Democratic Republic. In this way, we shall be making our contribution to the common cause of all the socialist states, for the good of our peoples.

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On Overcoming Survivals from the Past in the Minds of Women of the Soviet East

One of the main achievements which have resulted from implementing Lenin's ideas in our country is the change that has taken place in the minds of the people during Soviet times. This is particularly true of the changes and developments that have occurred in the minds of the formerly most backward sections of the women in the Soviet East. The following figures speak for themselves. As compared with 1939 the number of women with diplomas from universities and institutes in the Tajik SSR in 1969 increased by 21 times. In the last decade the number of girls studying in higher educational establishments has almost doubled. Women make up 38 per cent of all scientific workers in the republic.

For a woman of the East to change her way of thinking, her outlook and her ethics is a difficult, complicated process. Lenin stressed that the force of habit was a monstrous force. Religious fanaticism, feudal views in regard to women, the psychology of obedience and passivity among women—all these things have greatly hindered the emancipation of women. Strong resistance to change was put up by the bourgeois nationalists whose aim was to perpetuate the

shameful survivals of the past by presenting them as national traditions.

During the first years after the October Revolution, the Party carried on its work in a situation where the peasantry constituted the main force in Central Asia, a situation where, as Lenin said, it was necessary to solve the problem of combating not capital but medieval survivals. This was a difficult task and one without precedent, but nevertheless a gratifying one, for it drew into the struggle whole sections of the population that had not yet taken part in it.

Only with the victory of the socialist revolution did the women of Central Asia, being typical representatives of the working people, for the first time enter into social and political life and begin to take part in production. The entire ideological work of the Party aimed at the communist education of women was developed with these specific conditions in view.

It is the communist ideology that has been responsible for the emergence of the new woman in the present-day conditions of building communism in the republics of the Soviet East—a woman who is no longer humiliated and oppressed, a woman whose world has been enriched with a new, social outlook.

The communist ideology has given the Soviet woman of the East a new ideal, which has become the aim of her entire life; that ideal is the struggle for communism. Man's most powerful sentiments which inspire him to heroic deeds are shaped by the existence of a clear-cut goal, concrete tasks and the awareness of the need to perform some action or another. Therein lie the roots of mass labour heroism, of a creative

attitude towards work, of the endeavour to master science and culture, and of the dedicated social and political activity of the women of the Soviet East.

The material basis of socialism creates the objective conditions that make social ideals the main stimulus of women's activity. This is because the economic structure of socialism fuses social and personal interests into a single whole.

The successful completion of the immense tasks of achieving a political, economic and cultural revival of the peoples inhabiting the outskirts of former tsarist Russia on the basis of the Leninist nationalities policy has convinced millions of working women of the correctness and viability of the communist ideology and ethics.

As woman takes part in building a socialist society she forms her world outlook. Her knowledge is extended and is constantly enriched in the course of its social application. Social experience becomes an individual's ideological experience, knowledge develops into conviction.

The merging of one's inner convictions and feelings on the basis of the communist ideology enables one to overcome outdated standards and sentiments, to form a conscious attitude to real life and develop new feelings and attitudes—such as the feeling of communist equality—and independent convictions, and become a full member of society and the master of one's own life.

By developing a communist world outlook, Soviet women acquire a profound understanding of the Party's policy, of the radical advantages of socialism in solving the problem of women's

place in society, and increase their knowledge of the world.

It is a feature of our country's ideological life in the age of building communism that, contrary to the spontaneous attraction to communist ideals observed among the women of Central Asia in the first years of Soviet power, the assimilation of communist ideology is now a conscious, purposeful task. This is shown by the efforts of women to improve their political education.

The steady growth of political consciousness among women can be observed in their active participation in political studies and in political education work. There are 6,000 women engaged in this work in Tajikistan alone. They explain Party and government decisions to the people and arouse the enthusiasm of the people for the fulfilment of political and economic tasks.

However, the dialectics of interaction between social and individual psychology and ideology accounts for the fact that man's moral make-up may combine elements of advanced social views with outdated individual views, elements of new ideology and outdated psychology. A new, progressive ideology cannot take root in a day.

As a result, the outlook of those who master the new ideology often differs from person to person. The maturing of the civil, moral and political views of many women takes place quite early in life, even during their school and college years. And when they are confronted with the realities of life and its contradictions, they often discover a gap between the way they ought to act and their customary behaviour. They marry according to their parents' wishes, endure humiliation, and discontinue their social

and political activities to suit the backward views of their husbands.

Women who are isolated from a production collective are often governed in their behaviour by prejudices and outmoded customs and traditions. As a rule these survivals are linked with their religious emotions such as fear and reverence, and with their being accustomed to certain every-day habits connected with religion and religious worship which have become a tradition.

Because of these factors and because of the importance of the communist ideology in overcoming the survivals of the past, our Party employs specific forms of ideological work among the working women of the Soviet East. These forms include the convening of women's congresses the preparations for which increase the social and political activity of the women; the establishment of adult-education and housekeeping courses for housewives; the daily TV programme, *Saodat*, and the radio programme, *Sovremennitsa*.

Women's councils play a substantial role in the communist education of women, and in overcoming the survivals of the past in their minds. The enlightenment work and the political work carried on by these councils helps broad sections of women to understand the fundamentals of our Party's policy and broadens their outlook. The councils also serve as a school for training women for public and state work.

The great achievements of the Soviet people have confronted them with the task of eliminating all survivals of the past from the minds of the people. The achievement of this goal has be-

come an urgent task of our time.

The building of communism demands the dedicated participation of everyone in work for the good of the whole country. The scope of the constructive work being carried on by the builders of communism is without precedent in history, and the success of this work demands the active participation of women, and an understanding by them of the necessity of accelerated development towards communism and the objective laws of social development.

This attitude is developed in women under the influence of the communist ideology in a relentless struggle against the survivals of the past.

*OLGA VAZKOVA, Presidium
Member, Czechoslovak Women's
Council (Czechoslovak Socialist Re-
public)*

Against Attempts to Revise the Marxist-Leninist Concept of the Question of Women's Rights in Czechoslovakia

The struggle between the socialist and capitalist ideologies has extended to the question of women's rights as well.

The first attempts to distort the question were made in Czechoslovakia when the draft of the economic reform was being prepared. At that time some people began to say that the high rate of women's employment in Czechoslovakia was

an unprofitable thing, alleging that it failed to justify the expense of the creches, nursery schools, day care, and so forth—in a word, that women's work in production did not pay.

It became fashionable for the mass media to make sensational "discoveries" about the presumably harmful effect of children's group-up-bringing in creches, kindergartens and schools. They claimed that these establishments had an undesirable effect on the development of the young, giving a wrong direction to children's upbringing.

Propaganda for making women return to housekeeping became more and more clamorous. Certain "innovators" even began to see in this trend some sort of "new socialist style of life."

Faced with such an un-Leninist approach to the question of women's rights, the leadership of the Czechoslovak Women's Union strongly opposed it, pointing out that certain difficulties that arose from women's employment should be solved in the course of time by surmounting the difficulties, not by making women return to housekeeping.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia supported the Women's Council and this support was voiced in the resolutions of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

At that time some theorists and writers on economics in Czechoslovakia began to subject the Marxist-Leninist concept of women's rights to revision. These tendencies were inspired from abroad. However, the women's movement and its leadership repudiated those revisionist attempts.

But in 1968, a fresh situation arose where, dur-

ing the so-called post-January development in Czechoslovakia, a Right-wing revisionist group in the women's movement, right among the leadership of the Czechoslovak Women's Union, started to develop and to act.

This group gradually shifted to the standpoint of the Right-wing opportunists, and came to accept their view of the place and role of women's social organizations and the political direction of the women's movement in Czechoslovakia. It accepted the revisionist concept of political pluralism and regarded the Czechoslovak Women's union as an independent body, an independent social political entity whose chief purpose was to carry out a so-called pressure policy and stand up for women's separate interests whether or not they were consistent with the Party line and the interests of the socialist state as a whole.

In point of fact, this group set out to represent the women of Czechoslovakia in the arena of the "free play of forces" upheld by the anti-socialist elements. A year and a half of spontaneous development in Czechoslovakia demonstrated—apart from everything else—what that policy would have resulted in as far as women were concerned. As the capitalist ideology gained more influence in Czechoslovakia, reactionary views on the status of women became more widespread. For example, the proportion of women in the Central Council of Trade Unions of Czechoslovakia dropped to half the previous figure. The same thing happened in the Party and the trade union bodies elected at the time of the offensive of the Right-wing opportunist forces in Czechoslovakia.

The second Right-wing opportunist centre in the Party needed the support that the reactionary

group in the leadership of the Czechoslovak Women's Union publicly gave it. On the other hand, the anti-socialist forces in the Party were aware that the opportunist group, which was composed of some women intellectuals, cared little enough for the interests of the working women. They were also aware that the opportunist group, except for having managed to win a section of the working women over to their side with the help of bombastic phrases about their social needs, had failed to muster more substantial support for their standpoint.

The women's movement in Czechoslovakia remained sound at the core.

After the Right-wing opportunist policy of the former leadership of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Women's Union had been completely exposed and the sound forces in the local organizations drawn into the movement, the opportunist group in the women's movement stood isolated and was defeated politically.

That was possible only because, in April, 1969, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was headed by a new Marxist-Leninist leadership presided over by Gustav Husák.

Now the Czechoslovak women's movement is developing on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Czechoslovak Women's Union entered the year of 1970, which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia regarded as the year of the political and economic consolidation of our society, with good prospects for its active participation in carrying out this nation-wide task.

In the future too, we shall continue to stress

the need to maintain the closest association between our revolutionary women's movement and the movement for advancing socialism.

We shall use the object lessons of the recent dangerous period in the development of our society, and we shall show how vital it is to strengthen the role of the Communist Party, to further socialist development, and wage a consistent struggle for the economic and political development of our country. This will ensure favourable conditions for gradually solving the question of women's status in socialist society, and will provide the requisites of a happier life for working women.

To us in Czechoslovakia, the part which women play in society is of the greatest importance. In our present situation, it is very important to us that the number of socially active women should not merely increase but that every socially active woman should take a correct Marxist-Leninist position. It is necessary for her to have a proper understanding of the Party's twin line for consolidating and developing our socialist society, promoting the principles of internationalism in the course of the building of socialism, and for curbing and finally defeating the Right-wing and anti-socialist forces. This is the main line we are pursuing in developing the women's movement in Czechoslovakia. Only in this way shall we be able to develop the political understanding of those women who have fallen under the influence of the still-active opportunist elements sufficiently to break that influence which has been gained by lies and misinformation.

Lenin said that the strength and scope of a revolutionary movement could be judged from how

great a part women take in it. Therefore we too shall exert every effort so that women's mass participation in consolidating our socialist society and curbing the Right-wing opportunist forces will play its part in increasing the rate and intensity of this process.

We realize that women's participation in carrying out this nation-wide historic task will promote the true emancipation of women in socialist society. We shall try hard to evolve new forms of women's social involvement to help as best we can to multiply the political, economic and cultural strength of our socialist society and of the women themselves, and in doing this we shall rely on the experience gained by other socialist countries.

VALENTINA VAUILINA, Editor-in-Chief of the magazine "Rabotnitsa" (USSR)

Women's Press—an Effective Ideological Weapon of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Lenin, the leader of the Party and the people, was an active political writer. In questionnaires he put down political writing and journalism as his profession. This not only shows Lenin's modesty, but also indicates the important role which Lenin assigned to the press and political writing in the moral education of society.

In laying the foundations of the party press, Lenin evolved a fundamentally new type of party journalism. The Soviet press created by the Communist Party has always served as a revolutionary tribune for the people, a collective propagandist and organizer of the masses.

In his article, *Party Organization and Party Literature*, Lenin wrote: "In contradistinction to bourgeois customs, to the profit-making commercialized bourgeois press, to bourgeois literary careerism and individualism, 'aristocratic anarchism' and drive for profit, the socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of *party literature*... Literature must become *part* of the common cause of the proletariat... It will be a free literature, because the idea of socialism and sympathy with the working people, and not greed or careerism, will bring ever new forces to its ranks."

Lenin regarded partisanship in literature as inseparable from its democratism. He believed that the party press must champion the interests of the people and be developed by the people.

The Soviet press, including the women's press, has always abided by these Leninist principles.

Of course the woman question is discussed not only in the women's press. Questions relating to women's position and women's equality were dealt with before the revolution and in the first years of Soviet rule, and are being discussed today as well, in the general party press.

There are nineteen women's magazines in the Soviet Union with a total circulation of 20 million.

Besides the magazines published in Moscow—*Rabotnitsa* (*Working Woman*), *Krestyanka*

(*Peasant Woman*) and *Sovietskaya Zhenshchina* (*Soviet Woman*), there are women's magazines in the Union Republics and in three Autonomous Republics. The *Soviet Woman* is printed in many foreign languages and widely read abroad.

The women's press is an effective ideological weapon of the Communist Party and a great social force. Women's magazines publish material on the history of the Soviet people, their deeds, their everyday pursuits, thoughts and discoveries, problems and triumphs—all depicted in the vivid colours of reality. Going over their pages the reader feels the fiery breath of the Civil War, and becomes infected with the tremendous enthusiasm of the builders of the first five-year-plan projects; he is filled with the passions of the class struggle during collectivization in the countryside, and overawed by the terrible ordeal and the exploits of the Soviet people and its army in the Great Patriotic War. The magazines also help the reader to form an idea of the tremendous scale of construction work and scientific research in the USSR. And they carry articles about women whose outstanding achievements and whose dedicated work for the good of society provide an example for others. Presented in a vivid manner such articles can tell the reader more about the life of the people than the most impressive statistics.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has blazed the trail into a new world, the world of emancipated labour, bringing about a drastic change in the people's outlook, their views and moral attitudes. This change can be best seen in the attitude to labour. Formerly labour meant onerous toil for the benefit of capitalists and lan-

ded aristocracy, now labour became an effort consciously and voluntarily undertaken by workers for the good of the nation. The woman's position in the family and society was undergoing revolutionary changes. The Party helped by the press did a tremendous amount of work to safeguard woman's rights and to raise in public opinion her role of mother, worker and full-fledged citizen. A new type and ideal of a woman—the woman of the socialist world—emerged. Much was done by Soviet literature and journalism to promote what was new and progressive.

It was a hard and bitter struggle, a struggle against the forces of the outgoing world and the century-old prejudices of men and women alike.

In January 1922, for instance, the newspaper *Pravda* carried an article entitled "Regard the Woman as Your Equal", which said that it was high time the workingman stopped looking upon his fellow-worker, the woman, as a "silly old thing" but recognized her as an equal member of society. In 1926, the question of whether a woman could do well as a lathe-operator or fitter was hotly debated in the pages of *Rabotnitsa*. The very idea of a debate like this seems ridiculous today, although in those days there was an urgent need to convince the workingmen, and the women too, both workers and housewives, that the woman was in no way inferior—either in intellect or talent or skill.

New moral principles of family relations were born in a bitter struggle. Love, the loftiest of human feelings, was being rid of the element of dishonesty and hypocrisy, but the process was very involved and at times painful. The women's press was in the thick of the struggle for a new way of

life, a new human personality and new relations between people in the family and at work.

Besides publishing material on the everyday life, thoughts and deeds of our contemporaries and on domestic and international events (and this has always been an important aspect of their activity), the women's magazines did much work to raise the educational and cultural level of women and help them develop a materialist world outlook. The fact is that in the beginning, ignorance and religious prejudice stood in the way of women's real emancipation and socio-political development. Women's magazines carried special sections for beginners in which simple texts were printed in large characters, and they did much, especially in the national republics, to help wipe out illiteracy and overcome ignorance. Women's magazines were often the first reading material for those who had just learned to read.

Times changed and so did the content of the women's magazines. But they remained unchanged in their concern for the working woman. They published material about her and for her, and there were many women workers among their contributors. The revolutionary ardour, ideological conviction, humaneness and democratism of Soviet women, active participants in numerous undertakings, permeate the publications of the Soviet women's press. In this connection one cannot help recalling Mayakovsky's words: "The rustle of pages is like the rustle of banners."

The women's press has always rallied women for taking part in good causes. In the first years of Soviet rule it was the campaign to wipe out illiteracy. There were also contests for the best cre-

ches sponsored by women's magazines. Women correspondents from among workers helped pick up orphaned children and organized children's homes for them with the state's help. Later, the press called upon working women living in the cities to help the village women raise their cultural level. In the first five-year periods, the women's magazines organized exchange of experience between foremost workers and published the pledges taken by participants in a competition for better work and also the results they achieved. The press often acted as judge in these competitions. Women had initiated many patriotic movements with the support and active participation of the press. One will recall the movement of young women in the 1930s for resettling in the Far East.

Today the women's magazines have a large army of unpaid, volunteer correspondents—women working in various professions. Readers' letters and contributions by these correspondents provide the main source of material for the women's press. *Rabotnitsa*, for instance, receives 600-700 or more letters every day. Fact-finding missions by working women correspondents, round-table discussions, clubs of women activists, public reception rooms, readers' conferences, get-togethers of people of the same profession are forms of work typical of the Soviet press.

After the Great Patriotic War, the woman's role as mother became still more important. In our country there are many widows of the last war who had to raise their children singlehanded. These children have grown up to form a considerable portion of the work-force in the country, and their mothers did their best to bring them

up as worthy citizens. The role and responsibility of the mother in the upbringing of the younger generation, as well as relationships between generations are themes that never leave the pages of the women's magazines.

Many years ago, N. K. Krupskaya explained to the working women the political significance of setting up the Young Pioneer Organization and asked them to take this organization under their patronage. During the last war the women's magazines organized numerous groups of women for looking after the children evacuated from front-line cities and helping to run children's homes.

During the war, a group of Siberian women sent to the women of Leningrad a letter in which they wrote: "Stand firm, dear friends. We shall save your children for you."

The kind of moral upbringing a child receives largely depends on the views and beliefs of his parents. That is why the women's press has always considered it its important duty to educate women in a communist spirit, to steel them ideologically and to teach them the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist pedagogy.

After the war women's councils began to spring up throughout the country. These councils are different from what the councils of women delegates used to be in the first Soviet years. The women's councils of today consist of educated, politically conscious women who devote their free time to active public work.

Women's councils are particularly widespread in the Ukraine. One will find them at every factory and collective farm, in districts, towns and regions. There is also the Republican Women's

Council. The Ukrainian women's magazine, *Radyanska Zhinka* (*Soviet Woman*), gives extensive coverage of the activity of the women's councils. The members of these councils are, as a rule, the most active contributors to women's magazines, who also initiate and lead mass fact-finding missions, Subbotniks (unpaid, voluntary work on a mass scale) and other social functions. Through their assistance the women's magazines have greatly extended their contacts with the people.

Thousands of readers' letters and articles by women workers, farmers, public leaders, executives and scientists demonstrate the genuinely democratic nature of our press, the tribune of the people.

In her message of greetings to the newly organized *Rabotnitsa* in 1914, Klara Zetkin pointed out the importance of cultivating internationalist feelings in the working women. Following this advice, the magazine, from the very outset, promoted the solidarity of Russia's working women with the struggle waged by the workers the world over. Internationalism is deeply rooted in Soviet women who are concerned not only about their country's affairs but also about the strivings and aspirations of all those fighting for peace, freedom and progress. And the women's press reflects this in its publications.

If you look through the files of women's magazines for the past years, you will see that they published many articles about working class brotherhood, about the Soviet women's solidarity with the working people of capitalist countries. You will learn, for instance, that in the 1920s-30s, the Soviet women, who themselves faced many difficulties at the time, initiated a relief cam-

paign to help the starving children of workers in faraway Ruhr.

Turning over the pages of *Rabotnitsa* you will find the letters Soviet women wrote in protest against the nazi frame-up of Georgi Dimitrov. Nearby you will see the portrait of the great Bulgarian revolutionary.

Soviet women collected money for republican Spain and gave shelter to the Spanish children who were forced to leave their country shortly before the fascists seized power. They are giving moral and material support to the Vietnamese women and children, indeed, to the entire Vietnamese people who are fighting against US aggression.

Every issue of a Soviet magazine bears witness to the noble feeling of international working-class brotherhood which is shared by the Soviet people.

Our press, which is a disseminator of ideas, an organizer and the representative tribune of the people, shows that for the Soviet people internationalist solidarity, participation, in one form or another in the working people's liberation struggle against imperialism, is the law of life. The cohesion of all revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving forces in the struggle against imperialist reaction and aggression, against the threat of a new world war is the imperative demand of the time, and the Soviet magazines are true champions of the cause.

An important task of the women's press is to strengthen the fraternal unity of the socialist community and promote friendly ties with women in the socialist countries in keeping with the

principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The great proletarian writer, Maxim Gorky, once said that Lenin had a great power of prediction, that he foresaw things as nobody else did. Lenin possessed this faculty and could use it so brilliantly because part of his great soul belonged to the future. His thesis on the partisanship of the press has lost none of its validity to this day; in fact, its significance has increased with the years.

Part 6.

*The International Significance
of Leninism and Lenin's Ideas
on the Social Emancipation
of Women*

CECILE HUGEL, General Secretary of the Women's International Democratic Federation

A World Detachment of Women's Democratic Movement

Ever since the founding of the Women's International Democratic Federation our dear friends and sisters from the Land of Lenin have been staunch comrades in the movement for the emancipation of women, for the happiness of the children, for the national independence of the peoples, and for social progress, democracy and peace. Actively committed to this movement are also our sisters from heroic Vietnam, from the German Democratic Republic, the first peace-loving state on German soil, from Cuba, Korea, Poland, Mongolia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia.

All of you and everyone of you, on the basis of your own experience, are making a vast and important contribution to the WIDF's activities.

You are people for whom solidarity and friendship spell concern and self-sacrifice. Please accept our gratitude for all this.

The women of the world, who assembled, regardless of race, political beliefs, religion, and social origin, for the WIDF's 6th Congress, decided, on the basis of our programme to whose realization they are all contributing, to observe the centenary of Lenin's birth.

From all over the world we have received reports of the numerous measures taken to mark this great day. In Argentina and India, for instance, talks have been organized on what Lenin had done for the women of the world, contests have been held for the best short story and poem about Lenin, exhibitions have been mounted about Lenin and his life, as well as the life of Soviet women, and films about Lenin have been shown.

In conversations with Klara Zetkin, Lenin noted time and again that it was necessary to set up an international women's organization to fight imperialism, and approved of and supported her proposal to convene an international women's congress. His ideas for such an organization have been realized and have borne fruit in the same way as the lessons of the October Revolution, to which you, our dear friends and sisters, are the worthy heirs.

Thanks to its millions of members in 92 countries, the WIDF is today a broadly representative international organization. United, we have become a force that human society is compelled to reckon with.

Lenin's teachings are inspiring millions of women throughout the world in their daily strug-

gles. He urged both women and men to be brave, persistent, firm, steadfast, and wise, and to organize in a true revolutionary manner; all this is the opposite of a wait-and-see policy of concession, pseudo-revolutionary phrase-mongering and anarchy, which like straw, fizzles out the moment it is lit.

You have assembled here, our dear friends and sisters, who together with your peoples are building a new society of brotherhood. You are exchanging experience with one another in order to more effectively and fully contribute to the advancement of your countries.

You are aware of the power of concrete example, the power of theory wedded to practice, which encourages and stimulates the struggle of your sisters in countries that have yet to taste of the joy and happiness that you have won at the price of so much effort. And we have no doubt that you will share your experience with the women of the world, as your experience is of great value for our common effort.

It is my conviction that all of us, the women of the countries building socialism and the women fighting in the capitalist countries, fighting against imperialist aggression, colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascist dictatorship and racialism, will unite still more firmly with one another to end US aggression in Vietnam and Israeli aggression in the Middle East, to liberate the peoples of Africa and Asia, to ensure security and co-operation in Europe, to free political prisoners throughout the world, to secure women's rights and happiness for their children, to strengthen in this noble struggle the friendship of the women of the world!

*SARLA SHARMA, Secretary of the
National Federation of Indian Wo-
men*

Lenin Belongs to the Peoples of the World

It is one thing to read and hear about the emancipation of women, and another to know how it works out in practice and what problems have to be tackled in the process. This is all of great meaning for us. You, women of the Land of Lenin and of all the socialist countries, have the right to be proud of your victories, of your position in society, and the sacrifices you have made to that end. May I tell you that your successes, your confident and happy faces instill in us great courage and faith and infuse us with strength in our struggle against feudalism and imperialism and in our effort to build a truly democratic India along socialist lines.

I consider it an exceptional honour for me to remind you here of what Lenin, that great humanitarian and revolutionary, said and did with respect to India, a country for which he showed concern and a special interest.

Lenin wrote much about India, about its economic and political exploitation by the British and about the Indian popular movement to end the savage British rule. He evinced keen interest in the national-liberation movement in India and maintained that it played a decisive role in the struggle against imperialism. He knew even the

smallest acts of popular resistance and commented upon them.

Throughout its long history the struggle for India's liberation was influenced by Lenin and his ideas. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution imparted new ideas to our struggle against the British colonialists. At the Lucknow Congress in 1936, the national Indian leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, said: "I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in socialism." Tagore and other Indian writers were also greatly influenced by Lenin's ideas.

It is especially important to take these trends of political thought into account when noting the part played by the women in the struggle for our national independence. In 1930 and after, a large number of women began to take part in various forms of the political struggle organized by the working class. The level of their political awareness grew. It was at this time that anti-Soviet slander was widely current, more specifically the calumnious inventions that women in the Soviet Union were "socialized" and that there was no family life there.

However, many progressives were able to obtain the correct information and realized that the ideas of socialism were just. To this day there remain reactionaries of the same kind who continue to spread slander about the state and condition of women in the socialist countries. I think symposiums like this one, which has most concretely demonstrated the remarkable contribution made by the woman of the socialist countries to social production and all other spheres of life, are a fitting rebuff to the calumniators.

In India, though women are granted equal rights under the law and the Indian Constitution and though our Prime Minister is a woman, and many women hold high office, the overwhelming majority of women are illiterate and are under the yoke of family and feudal exploitation. Through struggle we have won some, though limited, rights, which are threatened under the attacks of reactionary elements. Our organization is striving to uphold these rights and also tackle the various problems that stand before us women, such as the problem of equality in hiring, professional instruction, equal pay for equal work, and maternity privileges. We are against the custom of bridal dowry which is humiliating to girls and often leads to murder; we want daughters to enjoy equal inheritance rights, and are for civil rights, democracy, peace, and solidarity with the women of other countries.

We are waging a long uphill struggle not only in the political and economic fields but also against social backwardness, prejudice, and orthodox beliefs and practices. Our women draw immense inspiration from their sisters of the Soviet Central Asian Republics such as Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, where before women lived under conditions similar to ours today.

Allow me to use this opportunity to assure our sisters from the socialist countries and from embattled Vietnam that we shall intensify our struggle so as to be worthy of your friendship.

Lenin was born in Russia, but he belongs not only to the Soviet Union. He belongs to all of us.

The women's record of achievement in the socialist countries are inextricably bound up with Lenin's teachings and ideas. However, it is not

only the women of these countries who are grateful to him. The women of the entire world are filled with the same gratitude.

*NGUYEN THI HANG, Member of
the Central Committee of the Women's League for the Liberation of South Vietnam*

Message of Greetings to the Symposium from the Delegation of the Women's League for the Liberation of South Vietnam

Dear friends,

Allow us on behalf of all the women of South Vietnam to heartily greet the symposium participants and wish them great success in their work.

Our people hold Lenin very dear to heart. Today the people of South Vietnam are successfully fighting the US imperialists in the effort to save their country; they are consolidating the people's revolutionary power and are rehabilitating the liberated regions. All this has been possible owing to the influence exerted by the Great October Socialist Revolution and the behests of great Lenin, which light up the way of struggle for the oppressed nations, including the peoples of the East.

After reading Lenin's theses on the questions of nations and colonies, our President Ho Chi Minh said: "Lenin's theses have profoundly impressed me. What joy and hope they give!" He regarded them as a compass and a torch lighting

up the road to liberation for the oppressed peoples the world over.

After the victory of the October Revolution, won under the brilliant leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, our President Ho Chi Minh said time and again: "The October Revolution has illumined the entire world like a bright sun, awakening the millions of oppressed and exploited on all the continents. In mankind's history, no other revolution is of such great and profound significance."

Having suffered for almost a century the anguish of humiliation and misery, and waging an armed resistance against imperialism, the people and the women of South Vietnam seek still more strenuously today the bright light of Leninism, the light of the October Revolution.

Words fail to say how great are the services that Lenin rendered to mankind and the oppressed nations, including the people of Vietnam. Allow us at this symposium to solemnly express the most profound gratitude of the people and the women of South Vietnam to Lenin, the great teacher, who through his outstanding pupil, our President Ho Chi Minh, pointed out to us the way, the victorious way, to liberation.

The women of South Vietnam hold Lenin's teachings very close to heart. We are fully resolved to free our country and our women. We are profoundly aware of the woman's role, which Lenin noted, in the revolutionary movement for liberation and in the effort to build a new society.

President Ho Chi Minh, our talented leader, creatively applied Leninism to the conditions of Vietnam. We marched forward from victory to

victory along the road of the liberation of the entire people. The women of South Vietnam have taken part in all sectors of the political movement, armed struggle and production effort to consolidate power.

Both during the war against the French colonialists and today in the struggle against the aggression of the US imperialists, in the political struggle—from a universal uprising to the general offensive and general uprising of the masses, which are now taking place under the leadership of the South Vietnam Liberation Front—the women of South Vietnam are making a notable contribution.

Dear friends, the defeat of the US imperialists in South Vietnam is already clear. However, the Nixon Administration is still reluctant to admit that, and in the false guise of “vietnamization” of the war, is continuing with the war and pursuing a policy of neo-colonialism. US bombs are daily bringing destruction to South Vietnam, killing our people, unsparing of either old folk, women, or children. This is borne out by the massacres of Song My, Bi Lang Ni, Thang Binh and Que Son, about which the whole world knows. Our friends and progressives all over the world are outraged and are voicing determined protest. We are not able here to describe all the atrocities perpetrated by the US imperialists and their confederates, who stoop to the most criminal means. They employ B-52s and use poisonous chemicals to annihilate the population of South Vietnam. In the face of the Nixon Administration’s new dastardly plans and atrocities, the people and the women of Vietnam are rallying still more firmly together and are fully resolved to carry

out President Ho Chi Minh's sacred behest to continue and intensify the war of resistance until complete victory is won. We categorically demand the full, earliest, and unconditional withdrawal of US forces and the troops of their satellites from South Vietnam.

In the difficult struggle that has lasted many years, the women of South Vietnam, along with the entire people, have added to the national traditions of struggle against the foreign invaders and have attained the greatest heights. We are profoundly aware that we are indebted for all our victories to the valuable and effective support of the Party and government and the peoples and women of the Soviet Union, of all the fraternal socialist countries, of the progressive peoples of the world.

It is our firm conviction that thanks to the resolve of the people of South Vietnam, and to your solidarity and active support, our struggle will end in full and final victory. In this connection allow us to wholeheartedly thank you, our friends, and once again say that we consider our main task that of defeating the US invaders in order to build up an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Vietnam and gradually turn to peaceful national re-unification. We regard this not only as our sacred duty to the people of Vietnam, but also our lofty duty to all peoples of the world that are struggling for national liberation and world peace.

Having been given this opportunity to take part in this symposium in the land that is the birthplace of Lenin and the Great October Socialist Revolution, we wish to tell you from the bottom of our hearts that Lenin and Ho Chi Minh

have lived and will live on forever in the hearts of the people and of the women of South Vietnam.

May the militant solidarity and fervent friendship between us grow strong and develop under the glorious banner of our dearly beloved Lenin and Ho Chi Minh.

We are availing ourselves of this occasion to present to Soviet women on behalf of all the women of South Vietnam this banner as an expression of our most profound gratitude to great Lenin.

*FATOU BANGOURA KASSORI,
representative of the All-African
Women's Conference, and Depart-
ment Chief, Guinean Ministry of So-
cial Security*

Achievements of African Women in the Movement for National Independence and Equality

Lenin's ideas have gained world-wide currency. This enables us to engage in a very valuable exchange of experience in the field of women's activity and advancement in each country. For this reason, the women of Africa are happy to be represented at this forum and to contribute to its success as far as they are able within the scope of the tasks that they have set themselves.

Inaugurating the First National Women's Congress, President Ahmed Sekou Toure, General

Secretary of the Democratic Party of Guinea, said: "While the entire nation suffered intolerable physical and mental anguish during the colonialists' criminal rule, for the African women their suffering was aggravated, furthermore, by the social discrimination resulting from the policy of abasing the woman that African men followed in every sphere of life. Today, Guinean women are, at last, making history by taking an active part in national life, being convinced that only struggle will yield fruit and that only through the efforts of the entire nation and each individual will they be able to uphold their rights."

What can one add to that? One can merely once again stress the important role that the African woman has played in the process of the continent's national liberation and at the same time agree that it is necessary to pave the way for her well-deserved advancement within the framework of the new society.

The conviction that it was necessary to struggle for common demands brought women of 32 African countries together in Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania in 1962 to set up a Conference of African Women, which came to be called the All-African Women's Conference, with headquarters in Algiers. Its activities are directed by a Bureau of 13 women, headed by our comrade, Mrs. Jeanne Martin, General Secretary of the Women's National Committee of Guinea. Four regional secretariats co-ordinate the activities of the various member states.

Thanks to the scope of its membership and its activities, the All-African Women's Conference has become a specialized agency of the Organiza-

tion of African Unity in the struggle of the entire African continent for further development. It maintains friendly contacts and co-operates with all democratic organizations in the world and with youth and trade-union movements.

To promote African social progress the Conference participates in seminars, study and practical training programs in collaboration with such UN technical services as the UN Commission on the Status of Women, UNESCO, and UNICEF, among others.

At meetings of the Council and at congresses of the Conference the following concrete tasks were outlined:

- to find ways and means of expediting the process of emancipation of women;
- to define the role of personnel doing work among rural women;
- to introduce elementary education at community centres, centres for the eradication of illiteracy, and cultural centres.

We have participated in several seminars, including one on safeguarding the rights of mother and child, which was organized jointly with the WIDF in Bamako in 1965, and another, on the women's role in national economic development, which was organized conjointly with the International Alliance of Women in Freetown in Sierra Leone in 1960.

Women are becoming aware of their responsibility. They denounce imperialist wars and voice the conviction that the peoples will win in their struggle for national independence and territorial integrity.

The brave peoples of the countries struggling for national independence, such as Angola, Bis-

sau Guinea, Vietnam and the Arab states, draw strength and courage from the support of the organized women.

The women of Guinea, like all women in Africa, were exploited and humiliated by the colonial regime. They very soon realized their tragic plight and began to struggle for liberation together with their husbands, brothers and sons. They were convinced that only national independence would open up before them the road to full emancipation. The moment independence was won, the Democratic Party of Guinea, led by President Sekou Toure, that loyal servant of the people, devoted every effort to establish a democratic and socialist system in Guinea. Guinea needs working people to achieve social and economic advancement and Guinea's women have no wish to hold themselves aloof.

Revolutionary changes must be carried out in order that the woman may achieve complete emancipation.

Today Guinean women enjoy all the political rights. They have the right to vote and be elected. They may join the Party and be elected to all Party bodies at all levels. In the National Assembly 20 of the 75 deputies are women. One of the cabinet ministers, the Minister for Social Security, is a woman, and one of the Governors is also a woman.

We have women working side by side with the men at factories, building sites, farming co-operatives and crafts co-operatives, in the dyeing of fabrics. We have women who work as hotel managers, department heads at ministries, Bureau chiefs, police commissioners, air hostesses, midwives, laboratory assistants and so on.

Before Guinea became independent, 95 per cent of its population could neither read nor write. Today girls attend Guinea's co-educational elementary and secondary schools, vocational schools and universities. School attendance has increased five-fold, with all boys and girls over seven going to school. In 1968 we initiated a nation-wide socialist cultural revolution, with emphasis on mass education of the population all over the country. A big drive has been launched to stamp out illiteracy. Special brochures have been put out for this purpose. The presentation of graduation certificates for literacy courses, which takes place at women's sections, committees and federations is always a great occasion for all.

The rights of mother and child are safeguarded and they are provided with the necessary medical assistance at hospitals and other health centres. An extensive campaign for hygiene is being conducted; talks are given for women at their places of residence and over the radio, and educational films are shown. Sociological polls are conducted. When a child is born the parents are provided, upon the showing of the birth certificate, with family subsidies and allowances. Women enjoy the right to work and to old-age retirement pensions. Thanks to this extensive social programme, great progress has been made. Infant death rates and the incidence of both chronic and infectious diseases among children have dropped.

Under the colonial regime the Guinean woman had no rights at all and could be bought and sold like chattel. In its struggle for equality for women the Democratic Party of Guinea secured the

enactment of a code of marital laws. Today the woman is free and full of dignity. From the age of 17 she may freely choose a husband and officially register her marriage. Bridal money is now a purely symbolical thing.

At their First Congress in 1968, Guinean women adopted a revolutionary law, which is being strictly implemented. It establishes monogamy and penalises polygamy.

Such are the results of the movement for the emancipation of women in Guinea.

Staunchly devoted to the principles of the Democratic Party of Guinea, full of revolutionary conviction and infinitely dedicated to the Party's General Secretary Ahmed Sekou Toure, the supreme leader of the revolution and loyal servant of the people, Guinean women will spare no effort to bar the way to imperialism and throttle every attempt at subversion and sabotage in the country.

So that Lenin's cause will live on eternally, I appeal to all women in progressive countries, to all class-conscious women the world over, to unite and build a world of justice, social progress and peace.

BAHIA CARAM, Chairman of the Women's Bureau of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Organization

Arab Women in the Struggle Against Israeli Aggression

Of all the many congresses and gatherings organized by the Soviet Women's Committee and

WIDF this symposium is without precedent in that it has recreated the image of someone who is immortal, who will survive our and coming generations—Vladimir Lenin. His teaching has stood the test of time and has yielded fine fruit—at first in the Soviet Union, and then consistently spreading year after year in the socialist countries. He led the struggle which put an end to class distinctions, thereby asserting the rights of man and man's preparedness to do his duty.

One of the principles he proclaimed was co-operation. This building of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, where we are meeting, is a magnificent example of this, as it was built by workers and experts from the different socialist countries.

This all means that in unity lies strength.

Why did Lenin condemn the rich and the nobility? Because those who are rich think that they can buy the whole world and everyone in it and make them their slaves. Could one find better proof of that than what we see happening in the world today? The wholesale annihilation of people in Vietnam and the war of devastation in the Middle East are the product of imperialism's aggressive policies.

I have just come from my country which Israel attacks daily, ruthlessly slaughtering innocent, peaceful inhabitants. The hours selected for bombings are the evening, the rush hours and the working hours, the time when Israeli missiles and napalm can cause the most havoc.

It sometimes seems to me that I am watching a film full of horrors or am seeing a nightmare in my sleep and that the whole thing will surely

end. Can anyone understand and explain why Israel attacked the Arab countries and is continuing its acts of aggression against them? Israeli troops are occupying the homes of the peaceful Arab population of Palestine who have been driven from their land and robbed of all human rights.

A delegation from the Soviet Women's Committee, led by our dear friend Valentina Tereshkova, visited the territory where the refugees are now and saw the conditions in which they live. A delegation from the Women's International Democratic Federation visited this same place in 1968. I believe there is no need for me to go into the details as what anyone who has seen it can say will carry more weight than my words.

Israel is guilty not only of the wholesale killings of peaceful inhabitants. It is guilty of violating the Security Council resolution, of continuing to use the Sinai peninsula, which rightfully belongs to Egypt, for its savage attacks, and of completely dismissing the possibility of bringing the refugees back home.

But as we all know, Israel is only an underling. Its master, the USA, seeks domination in the Middle East and is adding fuel to the flames. Were the USA to leave Israel without help, Israel's plans would have long become ashes.

How can the USA and Israel explain their stand? Let us hope that time will provide the explanation. Meanwhile the Arabs are fully resolved to pursue the struggle to its victorious end.

I would like to wish every success to the entire Soviet people who support all who are battling for liberation and all striving for peace.

RUTH MOMPATI, member of the leadership of the women's section of the African National Congress (Republic of South Africa)

Lenin Is With Us!

Address to the Symposium

Dear friends, Lenin, as the leader of the working class, demonstrated with utmost clarity that only in the process of remaking the old society along new socialist lines will the women attain full emancipation from exploitation and sundry prejudices. In his writings he emphasized that the success of any revolution depends on the part that women take in it.

Lenin's ideas are coming true in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, virtually everywhere in the world. The liberation movement has been gathering momentum. A salient feature of our time is that enormous numbers of women are involved in the liberation movement, in the anti-imperialist movement, in the struggle for peace and against aggression, as for instance, the struggle against aggression in Vietnam.

In the developing countries women are an integral part of that huge force striving for economic independence and reform in the name of the true victory of the revolution.

It is important that the women taking part in building up their countries should have an opportunity to study and receive the necessary training so that they could contribute to their best to national advancement. As Lenin said, for

women to attain full emancipation and genuine equality with the men there must be a socialist economy and women must participate in social production. Only then will they enjoy equal rights with the men.

The greatest example for us is the record of achievement of the women of the socialist countries where we see what women, given equal opportunities, can do.

*KARL LIEBIG, representative of
the World Federation of Trade
Unions*

The World Federation of Trade Unions and the Defence of the Interests of Working Women

In the past 25 years, ever since its foundation, the World Federation of Trade Unions has consistently stood up for the interests of the women who make up a large part of the many millions united in our world-wide organization, our Trade Union Federation.

A characteristic feature today is the woman's increasing participation in social affairs. Women, who today constitute more than a third of the entire labour force, are more and more clearly demonstrating that they are aware of the important role they play in the struggle of the working class, of which they are an integral part, and also in the life of modern society.

In the socialist countries the women enjoy equal rights with the men and energetically participate in the effort towards the full triumph of socialism.

In the countries under the yoke of capitalism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the women are joining in the struggle against imperialist oppression to satisfy their political economic, social and cultural wants, and, in the final account, to overthrow the existing regime and establish the power of the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the progressive forces.

Women are playing an ever more active role in the popular movements for democratic liberties, national independence and peace, especially in the struggle for peace in Vietnam and for the withdrawal of the US interventionists from South Vietnam.

New tasks face the trade unions of the world. To accomplish them they must work more actively towards meeting the demands of the working women. Accordingly, the WFTU has a still greater role to play and a still greater responsibility to bear.

In recent years the machinery of imperialist oppression has become still more effective and dangerous. This is making living and working conditions worse for many women.

In his analysis of imperialism Lenin showed that in its final phase of development capitalism becomes a source of deadly danger to humanity.

The right of women to work is recognized by nearly every state. However, it is curtailed under every pretext. That this is so is clearly shown by the mounting unemployment among the women and the youth. The range of what are known as

women's trades and professions is not very great. Professional instruction for them is still very limited. This stands in the way of their learning both new and traditionally feminine trades and vocations, in which they could work following the introduction of new techniques. This is all an expression of discrimination against women, the curtailment of their right to work. This obstructs the advancement of women and sustains the ingrained view that women represent a reserve of labour which depends on the fluctuating economic situation.

As for women's pay, the principle of equal pay for equal work is implemented only in the socialist countries where it is the law. In the capitalist countries, even where this principle is recognized by law, equal pay is not observed. I know, for instance, that in West Germany women get at best only 70 per cent of the pay that men get for doing the same work.

The WFTU Working Women's Charter, which was adopted in May 1946 and reaffirmed at the 6th and 7th Congresses of WFTU, lays down the following demands for the millions of women:

1. Guarantees and the real exercise of the right to work without discrimination.
2. Unlimited access to all offices and posts, including those at executive levels.
3. Guarantees of women's rights to professional instruction and a higher education.
4. The right to equal pay for equal work.
5. The reduction of work hours without any cut in pay to enable the woman to carry out her duties as mother and working woman.
6. More protection for the working woman's health.

7. Recognition of motherhood as a social function with all the ensuing consequences.

It is necessary for international and national trade-union organizations to draft a platform of concerted action to safeguard the interests of working women, as the Women's International Democratic Federation did with WFTU. National trade union centres should co-operate with the women's organizations in their respective countries and conjointly demand the exercise of women's rights.

The World Federation of Trade Unions assures all that it will continue to give women and trade-union organizations every support in the struggle for the emancipation of women, better working conditions, higher standards of welfare, progress, national safety and the defence of peace.

We wish all working women, their revolutionary democratic organizations, and, firstly, Soviet women, great success in the carrying out of their tasks in the spirit of the teachings of great Lenin.

В. И. ЛЕНИН О РОЛИ ЖЕНЩИН В ОБЩЕСТВЕ
И ОПЫТ РЕШЕНИЯ ЖЕНСКОГО ВОПРОСА
В СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ СТРАНАХ

на английском языке

Цена 89 коп.